A State of Change

An Historical Archaeology of Doukhobor Identity at Kirilovka Village Site (FcNs-1)

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Abstract

A migration of over seven thousand Russian immigrants belonging to the Christian sect known as the Doukhobors arrived in western Canada beginning in early 1899. Three colonies of at least 61 villages in total were established in the Districts of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia in the Northwest Territories. Due to internal tensions in the sect and conflicts with the Department of the Interior, most of these villages were abandoned by 1920. Although the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan are an integral part of the province's agricultural and settlement history, no substantial archaeological investigation of village sites took place until the site of Kirilovka (FcNs-1) was excavated in August and September of 1996. Kirilovka village was located along the North Saskatchewan River, west of the community of Langham, and was occupied by 30-35 families at the peak of its population. An archaeological sample representing the locations of four households is investigated in this thesis.

Historical characterizations of the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan tend to be uncertain as to whether the Doukhobors were an ethnic group and/or religious sect, and to the degree of internal cohesion and homogeneity at the community level. Combined archaeological and historical investigations here suggest that the Doukhobor identity in Saskatchewan cannot be defined simply in terms of Russian ethnicity, but involves a combination of philosophical, ethnic, economic, and geographical factors. Further, the Doukhobor identity is characterized by the constant change brought about through repeated mass migrations spanning two centuries. One of the material implication of this identity was a tendency to readily adopt certain new technologies and styles into Doukhobor activities. This thesis examines the possible social implication of such material acquisitions.

Only further archaeological investigation of Saskatchewan Doukhobor village sites may contribute to or contradict the findings of this research. It is hoped, however, that this thesis provides a necessary contribution to the growing field of Settlement Period Archaeology in western Canada.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the archaeological and historical investigation of a Doukhobor village that was located in central Saskatchewan and was occupied between 1899 and 1920. Archaeological mitigation excavation of the Kirilovka Village Site (FcNs-1) was undertaken in August and September of 1996 by Western Heritage Services Inc., of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, who kindly allowed the author (who participated in these excavations as assistant supervisor) use of the data for purposes of this thesis.

The main goal of this thesis is to investigate the incongruities and tensions present between households within an early Saskatchewan Doukhobor community using archaeological materials and historical resources. By doing so, I hope to demonstrate the complexity present in the structure of community and family behaviour among these settlers, thereby contributing to a better understanding of the reality of Doukhobor daily life at the village of Kirilovka.

Doukhobor settlement and migration history is an important part of the history of the settlement of the agricultural west in Canada. Among other late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlers, the Doukhobors hold a place in the memory of Western Canadians that symbolizes at once the industry and communalism of this Christian sect, and the seclusion and fanaticism characteristic of the behaviour of the sub-sect known as the "Sons of Freedom". Gerald Friesen explores the myth of the pioneer in western Canadian historical writing, stating that:

> [t]he celebration of rural life has survived in western Canadian culture as reverence for the original settlers of the region. The myth of the prairie pioneer is too well entrenched and too attractive ever to be dislodged from its place at the centre of western history. As Stephen Leacock once explained, 'Going West, to a Canadian, is like going after the Holy Grail to a knight of King Arthur. All Canadian

> families had, like mine, their Western Odyssey.' References to the difficult early years on a pioneer farm are invariably couched, as with Leacock, in spiritual and mystical phrases. The simple dwelling, often of logs in Manitoba and of sod on the plains further west, sanctified its builder; the simple diet, based on flour, luxuries, where possible, as coffee, tea, and sugar, purified those who received it; the first furrows cut in virgin soil, cut with the new chilled-steel plough and the recently purchased team of oxen, represented a holy act and a contribution to the extension of God's empire (Friesen 1987:304-5).

As part of this extensive myth, however, the day-to-day lives of the earliest agricultural settlers on the plains and the many complexities therein tend to be forgotten. The goal here is not to deny the importance of the Doukhobors to their own historical context, or our construction of the present understanding of history. Rather, it is hoped that the investigation of the material text in conjunction with written and oral works will help to unfold some of the multiplicities and tensions that were present in Doukhobor society on the plains in the first years of this century. These complexities are vital to our understanding of the structure of Canadian Doukhobor society today.

The second chapter of this thesis provides a descriptive account of Doukhobor history, from the philosophical origins of Doukhoborism in late eighteenth-century Russia to the abandonment of most of the Saskatchewan villages in favour of independent farming on the prairies or communal living in British Columbia. Following this account is an historiographical discussion of the different textual sources utilized for the present research project, including primary and secondary historical sources, oral interviews, as well as maps and photographs. A more detailed description of the characteristics of Saskatchewan Doukhobor villages and the specific structure and local history of the village of Kirilovka is given in Chapter 3.

The theoretical framework for this thesis is outlined in Chapter 4. Two main areas of theory are discussed, including consumer choice studies and ethnicity. The former area of concern is discussed as it generally encompasses the search for meaning in the integration of commercially produced and acquired goods into the material cultures of historical populations. Ethnicity is important in the present thesis, as this is

the area of archaeological theory most useful to the understanding of the identity of the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan as a separate cultural group within the early settlement of the Canadian West. It will be argued in this and later chapters, however, that the identity held by the Doukhobor settlers can not be defined strictly in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of self-defined philosophical identity.

Chapter 5 presents the archaeological excavation methodology used at Kirilovka, and descriptions of the excavated features. The following chapter includes the analysis of artifacts recovered from these excavations, including artifacts as well as faunal and floral remains. Intrasite comparison of the Kirilovka assemblage as well as intersite comparison of the Kirilovka materials with those from two other agriculturally based domestic sites of similar age are presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 presents interpretation and discussion of the material remains when considered in conjunction with historical resources from the village of Kirilovka. The meaning of specific classes of material culture within the context of specific tenets of Doukhobor philosophy and tradition is discussed at length, followed by conclusions regarding the development of Doukhobor identity and practice. The final chapter summarizes the conclusions of the research endeavour, and evaluates the success of the project.

Although this work was completed within the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Saskatchewan, there is no intention of subjugating either discipline of archaeology or history to the other. As will be demonstrated in the body of this work, both material culture and historical sources must be used in conjunction to make meaningful interpretations.

Part of the first stage of the archaeological investigation of a cultural group is what Schuyler has referred to as "Historic Ethnography"(Schuyler 1988:40), in that one must provide a descriptive account of a cultural context not yet well studied archaeologically. Of necessity, part of the present investigation of the Doukhobor village site of Kirilovka may be considered 'historic ethnography', as this particular cultural group is not yet well known archaeologically.

Included in this necessary background building, there are research methods that will produce the most complete and reliable results. Schuyler suggests that "if culture is not equal to people or only human mental processes, then it exists in all data sources and the relative strengths and weaknesses of these sources are unknowable from case to case. 'Historic Ethnography' must give equal attention to the archaeological and the documentary records, and possibly other sources (oral history, contemporary ethnography or ethnoarchaeology)" (Schuyler 1988:40). A similar idea that furthers the historical archaeologist's ability to not only describe but also interpret multiple sources is present in Mary Beaudry's concept of intertextuality. She writes that:

> [i]f we conceive of the relationship among the various lines of evidence available to the archaeologist as being one of *intertextuality*, we can begin to frame an approach that uses material culture, archaeological evidence, and documents in conjunction to arrive at credible interpretations of the past. Intertextuality refers to the interdigitation of different lines of evidence through a synergistic research endeavor such as that espoused by many but achieved by very few (Beaudry 1995:4).

It is hoped that the present study can begin to approximate the kind of research endeavor described by Beaudry's statement. The integration of numerous sources is used in the present study of Kirilovka, as historical documents, maps, oral reports, and archaeological sources are utilized (see also Shackel and Little 1992; Shackel 1993:10; Cook et al. 1996:52 for discussion of source integration in post-processual historical archaeology).

Returning to the issue of the contemporary understanding of the past, it is important to acknowledge the contribution of studies such as this one. Christopher Tilley writes that:

> interpretation of the meaning and significance of material culture is a contemporary activity. The meaning of the past does not reside in the past, but belongs in the present. Similarly, the primary event of archaeology is the event of excavation or writing, not the event of the past. Consequently, the archaeologist is not so much reading the signs of the past as writing these signs into the present: constructing discourses which should be both meaningful to the present and

> playing an active role in shaping the present's future (Tilley 1989:92).

All of our understanding of the past is based on our knowledge of the present. Our understanding of the Doukhobors of 1910 is not without the knowledge of the Doukhobor struggles through the middle of the century, and the differences between the modern independent Doukhobors in Saskatchewan and those still living in communities in British Columbia. The meanings of the following interpretations to the writer, the archaeologist reader, and the Doukhobor reader may differ greatly as the participants in the 'constructed discourse' change. The goal of this project is not to define nor prove laws of cultural behaviour. As Mary Beaudry states: "historical archaeology done as historical anthropology is more about exploration and interpretation of evidence and of sources that it is about discovery and proof" (Beaudry 1995:4).

Chapter 2
Saskatchewan Doukhobor History and Historiography, 1899 - 1920

2.1 *Origin and migrations of the Doukhobor sect*

Doukhobors are members of a Christian sect whose philosophy is based on the core beliefs of the guidance of the inner spirit, the rejection of externalities (including worldly government), the equality of all life, and the attainment of salvation through the practice of faith (Gale 1973:24). Koozma Tarasoff describes the Doukhobors as a "Russian-derived ethnic group" (Tarasoff 1972:1) who arose in the southern part of the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth century, loosely tied to a schism in the Russian church known as the Raskol (see also Tracie 1996:1). Gale makes reference to a 1791 confession of faith in which the Village of Nicolskoe, in the district of Paulograd, government of Ekatersoslav, is named as the place of origin of the Doukhobor faith, and its founder as Sylvan Kalesnikoff (Gale 1973:20).

The name "Doukhobor" was developed from a title given to the group by the Archbishop of Ekaterinoslav in 1785 (Tarasoff 1972:1). The term, meaning 'spirit wrestlers', was intended to imply that the members of this sect were wrestling against the holy spirit, although it was adopted by the Doukhobors themselves and the meaning was understood as wrestling with the spirit.

The Doukhobor migration to Canada in 1899 was only one in a history of population movements originating in Russia. The union of Doukhobors as a social and economic group depended on the migration of many individuals and families from different parts of Russia. Gale writes that:

> In its early beginnings, Doukhoborism was not a concentrated phenomenon with adherents grouped together, but rather they were scattered and living amongst other Russian peasants. In terms of spatial and political organization, they must be viewed as independents whose only common bond was a unity of opinion and belief and the goal of proselytization of those amongst who they lived (Gale 1973:58)

The first congregated settlement of Doukhobors took place at Molochnaya, or Milky Waters, in 1801. Tarasoff states that "Tsar Alexander I gave total amnesty to all people professing the Doukhobor philosophy. The result was that free serfs, merchants, and others from Finland, Siberia, central and southern Russia rose to accept the liberal invitation" (Tarasoff 1972:2). This statement implies that a mix of different social and economic structures were integrated in the early Doukhobor settlements.

A *mir*, or semi-communal village, system of settlement was adopted at Molochnaya to ensure the security of the grain farming settlers (Tarasoff 1972:3). The *mir*, or collective farm, is described by political scientist Leon P. Baradat as a refuge for former serfs in mid-nineteenth-century Russia who, although they were emancipated, could not privately own land (1989:41). Baradat later defines *mir* as an "ancient Slavic collective farm. In Russian, the word *mir* is also used to mean 'world' and 'peace'" (1989: 411).

The conditions of settlement in Molochnaya were generous, as Doukhobors were able to receive loans and were granted tax free status by the Tsarist government. During this time, interaction with Mennonite neighbors led to the adoption of many cultural traits that are commonly associated with Doukhobor 'tradition'. According to Gary Dean Fry:

> The influence of the neighboring Mennonites on the economic development of the Milky Waters Doukhobor colony was pervasive... The Doukhobors partook of the Mennonite experience in everything from agriculture and animal husbandry to clothing and housing construction. It is difficult to imagine the fate of the Milky Waters colony had it not availed itself of the Germans' expertise (Fry 1976:327, see also Gale 1973:158).

Although Tarasoff states that it was at Molochnaya that communalism began, Gale's own opinion is that by the end of this settlement, a more individualistic approach to economics took hold (Gale 1973:162). Fry argues that communalism in Russia was instituted by Saveli Kapustin in 1805, and was dissolved by the same man in 1816 followed by an unequal distribution of wealth among the Doukhobors (Fry 1976:325-6).

Within four decades after the move to Molochnaya, however, the transfer of power to the less sympathetic Tsar Nicholas I led to the exile of four thousand Doukhobors, who refused to accept orthodoxy, to Transcaucasia. Here, instead of benevolent Mennonite neighbors, the Doukhobors were close to the Tartars and other groups whose raiding parties posed a threat (Tarasoff 1972:3). According to Tarasoff, a communal economic system was again developed, although subsistence was now based on sheep and cattle raising (Tarasoff 1972:3). Gale states that this communalism was not reintroduced until late in the century, under the leadership of Peter Verigin I (Gale 1973:162).

Breyfogle also notes a shift in economic practice from Molochnaya to the Transcaucasus, from grain agriculture and livestock herding to a new style of livestock herding, followed by economic success (Breyfogle 1995:35; see also Fry 1976:350). He writes that:

> Doukhobors quickly became, along with Molokane, leading economic forces in the region. They merged their technological knowledge, agricultural experience and new varieties of livestock with local insights, practices and tools and took the best of both worlds (Breyfogle 1995:35).

Conditions changed for the Doukhobors again before the end of the century. In 1887, Alexander III implemented compulsory military service in the region in which the Doukhobors were settled. Later, under Tsar Nicholas II, the Doukhobors publicly reiterated their belief in non-violence in a burning of arms in 1895. This action was met by violent reaction from the Tsar's military forces.

Doukhobor representatives began seeking a new home for their people where they would be free from military service and persecution for their religious practices. The Canadian government made the seemingly generous offer of free rail transportation, a $20,800 special fund grant, and the allowance of communal land tenure not otherwise available under the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 (Tarasoff 1972:4). Some allowances for village life were granted under the "Hamlet Clause" of the Dominion Lands act, which states that:

> If a number of homestead settlers, embracing at least twenty families, with a view of greater convenience in the establishment of schools and churches...ask to be allowed to settle together in a hamlet or village, the Minister may, in his discretion, vary or dispense with the foregoing requirements as to residence, but not as to cultivation of each separate quarter section entered as a homestead (Tracie 1996:24, from Dominion Lands Act, 1903, Clause 37, 17).

In exchange, the government expected that the Doukhobor settlers would otherwise become law abiding, agricultural producers. Approximately 270,480 acres of land were reserved for the Doukhobor migrants (Department of the Interior RG15, D-II-1, File 494483, Part 1, Memorandum from JC. Cowan to Mr. Turner of the Canadian Department of Mines and Resources, 18 Feb., 1938).

Early in 1899 four voyages took over 7400 Doukhobors across the Atlantic ocean into Halifax Harbour on the SS Lake Superior and the SS Lake Huron. Lured by free homestead land, and encouraged by supporter Leo Tolstoy's followers in Europe and Canadian immigration officials such as Clifford Sifton, the Doukhobors took up residence in the Northwest Territories.

Doukhobor historian Koozma Tarasoff suggests that at the time of settlement, "[i]t was the fear of annexation [from the U.S.] that motivated the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881 and the institution of the vigorous immigration policy of Clifford Sifton under which the Doukhobors were attracted to Canada" (Tarasoff 1982:49). Due to this immigration policy, the population of Saskatchewan boomed in the first years of the Doukhobors' settlement. Tarasoff notes that in 1899, the population of the territory was 32,000, while in 1906 it was 189,000 (Tarasoff 1982:49). It is unclear, however, what territories were considered in reaching this statistic as the 1899 Saskatchewan Territory was different in spatial extent and location than the Province of Saskatchewan founded in 1905. However Friesen notes a similarly large increase in the population of the prairie provinces, and cites that "population increased sixfold from just over 400,000 in 1901 to 2.4 million in 1931" (Friesen 1987:243).

Sixty-one Doukhobor villages were established in three separate colonies: the North Colony and South Colony north of Yorkton in the Kamsack-Verigin region, and

the Prince Albert Colony in the region of modern day Langham and Blaine Lake. Within these settlements, members of the Doukhobor communities established varying degrees of communal farming practice. This period of settlement will be discussed at greater length later.

In 1906, the Canadian government commissioned John McDougall to investigate the amount of cultivation undertaken in Doukhobor settlements, and the settlers' attitude toward the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the crown in order to gain naturalization (Dominion Lands Act 1872, Subsection 11 Section 33). By 1907, most Doukhobor lands in Saskatchewan were forfeited due to disagreements between the Doukhobors and the Canadian government regarding naturalization and individual entry. Those community members wishing to remain on reserve land were granted only fifteen acres of land per person.

Although they exclude most communal village settlers from their discussion, John C. Lehr and Yossi Katz' description of the restrictive conditions of the land survey system describe some of the problems faced by Doukhobor settlers. Under the Homestead Act, the territory was subdivided into townships, sections, and homesteads (quarter sections). Through much of the area of Doukhobor settlement, as elsewhere, all odd-numbered sections were granted to the railway companies, two sections per township were set aside as school lands, and one and three quarter sections were given to the Hudson's Bay Company (Lehr and Katz 1994:72). Of this system, Katz and Lehr state that:

> The result, of course, was a settlement framework which was in the best interests of government or private capital, and in most cases in the worst interests of the settler. Settlers were dispersed across the land on individual homesteads, isolated and separated from the social benefits of congregation (Lehr and Katz 1994:72).

Even though communal village settlement was at first allowed in the Doukhobor Reserves, refusal of many to enter for and farm their own individual homesteads while they were living in the village led to the forfeit of much land. In this case, while the 'social benefits of congregation' could be attained, the still rigid structure of the land

tenure system contributed to the dispersal of the Doukhobor settlers. The economically independent farmer was favoured by the land survey system of a government aiming to assimilate settlers into Anglo-Canadian ways, not to foster alternate value systems.

While Sifton, Minister of the Interior at the time of the Doukhobor immigration, encouraged settlement of the west by Eastern European agriculturalists, he also believed in "assimilation of the immigrants to a British-Canadian norm" (Friesen 1987:246). According to Friesen, Sifton was more concerned with the occupational status of immigrants than their ethnic background (Friesen 1987:246). A nearly opposite position was taken by Sifton's 1905 successor, Frank Oliver, who strongly encouraged immigration from Great Britain.

Depopulation of Doukhobor villages through the first two decades of the twentieth century was a trend, although at times an inconsistent one. Tracie writes that:

> Seven of the fifty-eight villages Fairchild surveyed had only one or two families in the fall of 1913, and most of the other fifty-one villages were non-communal, occupied by Independents or by outsiders - mainly Russians, Galicians, and German-Russians. Thus, while the external structure of many villages remained essentially intact, village life and village composition had changed radically (Tracie 1996:169).

Gerald Friesen writes that after the reclamation of Doukhobor lands by the Department of the Interior, "over one-third of the community opted for individualism and the customary homestead. Under the leadership of Peter Makaroff of Blaine Lake, they ceased to practice communalism but retained their religious beliefs and pacifist principles as the Society of Independent Doukhobors" (Friesen 1987:270). Led by Peter Verigin, most of the Community Doukhobors of Saskatchewan abandoned their established villages and moved to lands acquired in central British Columbia (Saskatchewan Archives, Tarasoff interview S-931). Many families of Independent Doukhobors remained in Saskatchewan to farm land that they entered for individually (Saskatchewan Archives, Tarasoff interviews S-986, S-908). Of these independent communities in the interwar years, Friesen writes that it was the "combination of faith, language, and community by which they were distinguished, like the Ukrainians and

Mennonites, from the larger prairie society" (Friesen 1987:270).

2.2 *Historiography of Secondary Sources*

Historians, sociologists, and geographers have examined the Doukhobors in Canada from many different perspectives in the decades since their immigration and subsequent relocation. There are several different areas of study, and within each of these exist different themes of interpretation that can be considered important.

2.2.1 **Doukhobor Social Organization**

Most common among the literature dealing with social organization is descriptive work dealing with both the ideology and day-to-day life of Doukhobor people in North America. (Eli Popoff's fictional *Tanya* [1975] and Koozma J. Tarasoff's *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways* [1977] are two examples. The latter is based on oral testimony.) Koozma Tarasoff's 1982 work *Plakun Trava* provides a comprehensive history of Doukhobor social and political life from the earliest times in Russia to the date of its publication, including Saskatchewan settlements. Further discussion here will deal with the more analytical of these works - those that go beyond mere description.

Within discussions of the social organization, communalism, and internal schism of the Doukhobors there are two main themes. First is the sense that the Doukhobors were bearers of a rigid, transplanted culture that was subject only to uni-directional assimilation to 'Canadian' ways. More recent interpretations, however, suggest that factionalization and change in the Doukhobor society resulted as much from internal predispositions to flexibility , as it did from external pressures. As will be discussed later, this flexibility allowed for reinterpretations of Doukhobor tenets by groups and individuals, and the change in faith or practice that often caused schism.

F. Mark Mealing discusses Doukhobor architecture in Saskatchewan and Alberta, identifying three distinct house types present in the prairie settlements. Mealing treats the houses as indicators of both the social structure of Doukhobor settlement and of the transplantation of Russian cultural elements to the Canadian West (Mealing 1984:75).

Apparent in this work is the common assumption of a Doukhobor social structure transplanted directly and completely from Russia (also apparent in Dawson 1936), with little sense of cultural change or adaptation beyond acculturation to 'Canadian' ways. An "acculturation" approach is adopted also by Carl Betke who, in a discussion of Mounted Police relations with the Doukhobors, believes that there was generally a successful and peaceful Doukhobor adaptation to western Canadian life (Betke 1974:4). The description of simple unidirectional assimilation into 'Canadian' culture denies the complexity and dynamics of immigrant groups.

In recent years, some scholars responded to the need to approach ethnic communities as changing entities in the context of their interaction with the social and physical environment. Donald T. Gale considers the cultural landscape of the Doukhobors as an expression of religious ideology. Rejection of all material aspects of the church is a significant factor in the formation of the Doukhobor landscape, as it leads to the formation of places lacking material cultural symbols or icons (Gale and Koroscil 1977:197). Gale observes communal village plans to reflect sharing principles in the communal use of barns and granaries. In independent villages these structures are owned and used by individual families, and are placed within the boundaries of each house lot. Gale's cultural geography study is a valuable contribution. The different building placements discussed by Gale are indicators of the economic and social structure of the Doukhobor residents, that in the living context both reflected and perpetuated communalism or individualism by structuring behaviour. Gale portrays the complexity of the Doukhobor people's organization in stating that "[t]here exists no single type of Doukhobor landscape, but rather a complex of landscapes reflecting the complexity of Doukhobor personal beliefs...Doukhobor landscapes have been a result of the compromise between doctrine and present conditions"(Gale 1977:69.)

Geographer Carl Tracie also approaches the question of cultural landscapes in a comparison of Doukhobor and Old Colony Mennonite settlements on the Canadian prairies (Tracie 1976:46-65). Tracie discusses how the plan of Doukhobor villages, and their location, was based on cultural decisions used to solve problems in the

environment inhabited before immigration, as well as in response to physical environmental constraints. Influences from both the internal social organization of the Doukhobors, and their external social relations, are also incorporated into Tracie's interpretations (Tracie 1976:62). There is a sense of balance between change and conservatism among the Doukhobors discussed in Tracie's work. The social system of these people is not treated as a constant, isolated entity, but as one interacting and changing within larger cultural and physical surroundings.

The flexibility of Doukhobor social structure is also evident in J. Colin Yerbury and John Whitworth's treatment of the origin of the Sons of Freedom. To these authors, the oral nature of Doukhobor tradition and belief allowed a degree of flexibility in the practice of faith. They write that "[t]his permits the transmitter some latitude to (consciously or unconsciously) selectively emphasize, neglect, or reinterpret aspects of their theology" (Yerbury and Whitworth 1995:121). Yerbury and Whitworth's view of the Doukhobor faith involves the uncommon consideration of Doukhobors not as a homogenous group, but as a social structure composed of active individuals. Koozma Tarasoff also adopts the idea of social action, although in a group sense, in describing the Doukhobors as a "social movement", a "collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation is to be made, or a previous condition is to be restored", rather than only as an ethnic or religious group (Tarasoff 1969:13). These works dealing with the Doukhobors as a changing and socially active group in Canadian history can contribute more to studies of ethnicity and immigration than those previously discussed works that assume simple transplantation of culture and ethnicity.

2.2.1.1 Communalism

One of the most prevalent topics in the discussion of North American Doukhobors is their supposed communalism; the tendency to live in groups and share the products of their labour. The practice of communalism was initiated at the Molochnaya settlement begun in Russia in 1802 (Tarasoff 1972:3). According to Fry, "[t]he Doukhobors who gathered at the Milky Waters in 1802 were united solely by a common religion. The

primary effect of the economy which the colonists created was the evolution of material ties in the reinforcement of spiritual bonds. The development of these material ties, the experience of living, working, and prospering together, was a critical factor in the survival of the Doukhobors as a cohesive sect throughout the nineteenth century" (Fry 1976:333).

The importance of communalism to writers in defining the Doukhobors as an ethnic/religious group is apparent in Dawson's early assertion that "[t]he more important colonies were in the Assiniboia Territory" (Dawson 1936:10). In this area the Doukhobors established more communal villages, as opposed to those in the largely 'Independent' Saskatchewan Territory. Such interpretations are likely drawn from primary sources that report the feelings of both Community Doukhobors and non-Doukhobor sympathizers, that frequently express the belief that only those people practicing communalism were keeping the faith and could therefore be considered real Doukhobors (Szalasznyj 1977:85). In addition, some treat Verigin's attempt to unite all Doukhobors under a communal system after 1902 as central to Doukhobor history, while the activities of Independent Doukhobors are considered to be secondary (Friesen and Verigin 1989:51).

Although Mealing presents a useful avenue of research in looking at architectural styles, his work presents an assumed homogeneity of communal behaviour among Doukhobor settlers. In the description of the living style of these people he mentions a plainness and "primary communal function"(Mealing 1984:74) for buildings in Doukhobor communities. He writes that "[t]hey established functional building styles displaying an aptness for technology and demonstrating an aesthetic ideal of Plain style and the social and religious ideals of communal life" (Mealing 1984: 86). His description of the typical village follows the pattern of those that practiced a communal way of life, not that of the more independent members of the sect.

Although there is an assumed importance of communalism in the understanding of Doukhobor ways, it is recognized even by C. A. Dawson that this pattern of living was a relatively recent development for the Doukhobors themselves, made fully possible

in practice only by the escape from Russian persecution and exile (Dawson 1936:13). There also is a general realization among some authors that the communalism of prairie Doukhobors existed primarily not because of religious conviction, but due to economic necessity. Dawson and George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic comment that the Doukhobor dependence on the pooling of resources and outside aid to survive the first few seasons on the prairies were important factors in the establishment of some degree of communal behaviour (Dawson 1936:12; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:154). Kathryn Szalasznyj contributes to this topic by adding that, under some circumstances, the presence of a particularly charismatic or effective leader could lead a village to the establishment of communalism under his or her guidance (Szalasnyj 1977:73). She presents the examples of the villages of Terpennie in the South Colony, led by Pavel Planidin, and of Blagodarenie led by Ivan Strelaeff. Woodcock and Avakumovic also suggest that collectivization may be a form of ethnic boundary maintenance in the face of interference from the dominant state (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:89).

A.W. Rasporich examines Doukhobor communalism not only with respect to the cultural group involved, but in the context of Utopian and Millenarian developments on the Canadian Prairies from the 1811 Selkirk settlements to the era of Tommy Douglas. Under the banner of "Communalism in the Settlement Era:1885-1910" Rasporich contrasts ethnic nationalists, such as Icelandic and Jewish settlers, with ethnic communitarian and religious settlers, such as Mennonites, Hutterites, Mormons, and Doukhobors, and with Utopian Socialists such as Finnish Canadians. The treatment of the Doukhobors is disappointing, however, in that it emphasizes the "strong utopian and millenarian" tendencies of the group while downplaying the heterogeneity of these feelings (Rasporich 1987:225). In addition, Rasporich pays more attention to an obscure reference to an encounter with the evangelistic "Adamites" from Kansas than to the social organization and significance of the Doukhobors themselves (Rasporich 1987:226). It is admirable of Rasporich to look at Utopian social movements in a larger regional and national context, but the disappointing presentation of the Doukhobors detracts from the ability of this part of the analysis to contribute meaningfully to the

larger study of Doukhobor social structure and change.

2.2.1.2 Schism

Stemming from writers' interest in Doukhobor communalism is a more important concern with the ideological and social schisms that occurred within the Doukhobor communities since their arrival in North America. Szalasznyj notes that "[t]he Doukhobor sympathizers who lived among the newly settled Doukhobors were disappointed to find little evidence of a communistic tradition in the settlements" (Szalasznyj 1977:72). Donald Thomas Gale asserts that "[s]ettlement patterns in Canada, in its first three years, did not reflect to a high degree the principle of sharing" (Gale 1973:165). Later, however, when Verigin arrived in North America after being released from exile in Siberia, sharing principles shifted to become a major priority among devout followers of his leadership.

Three divisions became apparent in time: the Community Doukhobors, the Independent Doukhobors, and the Sons of Freedom. Community Doukhobors, later the followers of Peter Verigin, established communal villages in which residents shared products and implements equally. Independent Doukhobors often lived in villages, but farmed independently as families, while the Sons of Freedom comprised an ultra-orthodox part of the sect whose denunciations of all private property, use of animals, and publicly visible behaviour set them apart (see Dawson 1936; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968; and Tarasoff 1982 for more detailed descriptions of these factions).

Dawson sees the Canadian Government's method of land allocation as the cause of the schism between Communal and Independent Doukhobors. The Canadian Pacific Railway allowed their lands in the North and South Colony areas to be given to the Doukhobors, producing more homogenous settlements than in the Prince Albert Colony, where only even numbered sections were available for use as free homestead land. Dawson attributes the "early inroads of secularism" in the Prince Albert Colony to contact with other, interspersed settlers, and geographical distance between Doukhobor

lands (Dawson 1936:10). Further, the necessity for men from the Doukhobor communities to work outside their own territory on railroad building and farms allowed some individuals to "become cognizant of Canadian manners" (Dawson 1936:22), leading to the communication of such ideas and the subsequent acculturation to Western Canadian ways.

Mealing also attributes the rise of Independent Doukhoborism to assimilation into the surrounding lifestyle of Western Canada, by those who left communalism during the Homestead Crisis of 1899-1908 (Mealing 1984:74). He writes that these independent Doukhobors "rapidly integrated into Western lifestyle, adopting the architecture of their neighbors" (Mealing 1984:74). This approach implies not a change in, but an abandonment of, a static set of traditional Doukhobor principles.

Adrian Cross-Kershaw espouses the idea of assimilation in the change from communal to independent behaviour as well, in a geographically oriented discussion of Doukhobor cultural landscapes. Conflicts in ideology between the dominant group (the government and non-Doukhobor community) and the immigrant group led to, in the author's view, inevitable assimilation of the Doukhobors and the consequent destruction of their cultural landscape (Cross-Kershaw 1982:9). Cross-Kershaw remarks that "[t]he ease with which each non-English speaking European immigrant group became integrated into the dominant Anglo-Canadian society can be viewed as a continuum of experiences" (Cross-Kershaw 1982:9). In doing so, the author expresses first the belief that acculturation can take only one direction, that is, assimilation into the larger society. Second, there is the assumption apparent that this assimilation occurs uniformly within immigrant groups. Neither of these tenets are correct when looking at the history of agricultural immigrant groups in western Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Moving away from the concept of Doukhobor acculturation to a "Canadian" way of doing things, into the concept of change within the Doukhobor standards of life, Szalasznyj suggests that from the beginning:

> [g]roup settlement did not necessarily mean communal life: private

> tillage of the soil and ownership of livestock and equipment were possible, even though the Doukhobors lived in villages. These were the general economic implications of the mir system, to which the Doukhobors were accustomed prior to Verigin's call to communism in the 1890's (Szalasznyj 1977:72).

Szalasznyj further argues that although communalism implied something more than what was involved in the traditional mir lifestyle, there was general disagreement about what it entailed (Szalasznyj 1977:74). This disagreement led to the variation in the form of village settlement that accentuated the factionalization of Independent from Community Doukhobors.

Similarly, Yerbury and Whitworth suggest that the potential for Doukhobor factionalization came from within the group's structure and tradition, rather than entirely from external factors. As previously mentioned, Yerbury and Whitworth view the oral tradition of the Doukhobors as presenting the potential for the constant renegotiation of the faith, including the opportunity for individuals to challenge the position of an accepted leader. They write that:

> Thus, on their arrival in Canada in 1899, while to sympathizers (most significantly Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior) the Doukhobor immigrants appeared united in their poverty, piety, and allegiance to their leader, Peter V. Verigin . . . in reality the group was already shot through with potential for conflict, schism, and fragmentation (Yerbury and Whitworth 1995:125).

In the view of these authors, both the reinterpretation of individual faith and the possession of more material wealth by some members of the sect led to the increased individualistic behaviour of these members.

The concept of a predisposition to factionalization inherent in Doukhobor groups is combined by some authors with the idea of an external catalyst to division. Szalasznyj sees the accentuation of differences in land holding practice among the Doukhobors as due not so much to outside social and professional contacts, but to government pressure to register individually for lands when orthodox Doukhobors resisted taking such a step toward individual ownership. She writes that this "only

antagonized the settlers and created a deeper schism between a radical minority, and a more or less passive majority" (Szalasznyj 1977:121), while Jeremy Adelman writes that "[t]he concept of property relations was the wedge which, by 1904, divided the Doukhobors into three general factions" (Adelman 1991:121).

Verigin and Friesen completely de-emphasize the ideological differences that led to the factionalization of prairie Doukhobors. Although there is a recognition of differences in the adaptation of villages to the new environment, and even a lower "sharing morality" among settlers from the Elizavetopol and Kars settlers who colonized largely in the Prince Albert colony, there is a denial of any real individualism. They write that

> [o]nce in Canada, however, they became amongst the strongest supporters of communal living; it was as though the opportunity for a second chance motivated a softness toward others among them (Friesen and Verigin 1989: 47).

and:

> [t]he strength of the feeling of peoplehood also played a part because those who were well enough off to live independently temporarily chose not to do so for fear of being castigated as selfish (Friesen and Verigin 1989: 47).

The intent of Friesen and Verigin's writing here is less interested in examining the reality of the social and historical situation of the Doukhobors, and more so in promoting the Doukhobors, past and present, as an example of a compassionate society. This is one case in which the heritage of an author seemingly prevents the distance needed for objectivity. Although the factionalism of the Doukhobors is a topic of primary concern to writers interested in these people, Szalasznyj's work emphasizes that in reality, most of the settlers lived somewhere between the extremes of Independence and Community (Szalasznyj 1995).

2.2.2 **Interactions: Doukhobors And External Relations**

More frequently than they are considered in terms of their internal social

structure, the Doukhobors are presented as a case study in the interaction of immigrant groups in the larger Western Canadian social milieu. Friesen and Verigin write that "[t]he Doukhobor experience in adjusting to the Canadian prairies was fraught with much anxiety. Although they virtually conquered the odds in terms of adapting their farming practices to local conditions, social acceptance was quite another thing" (Friesen and Verigin 1989:4). These authors note that the Doukhobors' aloofness and insularity were offensive to surrounding settlers (Friesen and Verigin 1989:4). Further, many settlers supposedly viewed the Doukhobors as the favoured pets of a Canadian government that afforded them the special privileges of village settlement and exemption from military service on their arrival in Canada (Szalasznyj 1995:155).

Ranchers reportedly regarded Doukhobor agricultural lands with envy. That Doukhobors left some land uncultivated caused the public intolerance and pressure that led to the Government's opening of such lands for other settlement, and the following land rush of 1907. Often noted is an incident in which local ranchers tore down Doukhobor fences to let their own cattle graze on Doukhobor crops (Friesen and Verigin 1989:53).

Verigin's letters to Tolstoy express the feeling that the economic success of the Doukhobors made other local settlers envious, as he writes:

> [t]he local residents, especially, are beginning to regard the Doukhobors with some degree of envy, since the Doukhobors through their community organisation are able to raise their standard of living more quickly and so get ahead of the English. For example, the Doukhobors already have twenty sets of steam threshers (a 'set' consisting of a steam engine and a thresher), up to two hundred scythes, cutters, and other state-of-the-art equipment... The English would love the Doukhobors to break up into small farms and serve out a 'bondage' of individual indebtedness to the banks (letter from P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 1 April 1905. Toronto, in Donskov 1995:71-2).

There was likely more to this envy than the wish for greater economic success on the part of the English. A misunderstanding of the differences between their culture and that of the Doukhobors, and a suspicion of the unfamiliar, was at the root of many of the

poor relations. Woodcock attempts to view the intolerance of non-Doukhobor Canadians from a Doukhobor perspective by stating that:

> [t]he conclusion they reached was that Canadians - collectively and individually - wished to attack Doukhobor principles, to mock and destroy their pacifism, their vegetarianism, their preference for a communal way of life. Who was to guarantee that ultimately they would not be forced to bear arms? (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1986:166).

The examination of Doukhobor social relations, as discussed above, generally follows the perception of the Doukhobors as an economically and socially isolated sect. Although the Community Doukhobor ideal was to remain entirely self-sufficient and isolated from the outside world, Tarasoff notes that this was, in fact, not realized (Tarasoff 1969:22). The need of the men to work outside the village on the railway or local farms, the dependency on large manufacturers for machinery and some leather goods, and the use of non-Doukhobor technical assistance in the establishment of sawmills and a brick works all brought the Doukhobors into the larger socioeconomic networks of Western Canada (Tarasoff 1969:22). Historians should engage in the examination of Doukhobor participation in larger regional economies, as well as that of non-Doukhobor business within Doukhobor economics and production.

2.2.2.1 Doukhobors and Government Policy

The idea of broken promises on the part of immigration officials is a common one in the historical treatment of government policy and the Doukhobors. Friesen and Verigin treat Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton as a socially inept businessman with all focus placed on the concern of settling the agricultural west (Friesen and Verigin 1989:2). Frank Oliver, Sifton's successor, is presented as less influenced by economics than by his own racism. Changes in immigration policy enacted by this Minister favoured only immigrants who could assimilate easily into Canadian society (Friesen and Verigin 1989:2). It was his realization of the incompatibility of the Doukhobors with the majority that led to the breaking of some of the land-holding and residence

related promises originally made by Sifton.

From the perspective of Community Doukhobor tradition, "the laws of Canada had become a major obstacle in the establishment of the true Doukhobor way of life" (Szalasznyj 1977:86). In this case, land entry was more to the Doukhobors than the administrative bugbear that it was to the government; it was a matter of spiritual significance (Szalasznyj 1977:103). Friesen and Verigin seem to be trying to speak for the Doukhobors' response to Clifford Sifton's 1902 letter encouraging individual entry when they write that "[t]his was not the arrangement they had originally agreed to. Why did the Canadian government place the same militaristic kinds of obligations on them as the Russian government had done?" (Friesen and Verigin 1989: 49).

According to many authors, it was the basic division in belief over landholding that created the rift between the Doukhobors and the government. While to some Doukhobors, communal landholding and residence in villages was necessary to the practice of their faith, to the government it was "regarded as economically inefficient and destructive of individual initiative" (Szalasznyj 1977:140; Adelman (1991) espouses this view also). The intent of the government to populate the west with owner-occupant farmers inevitably clashed with the communalistic tendencies of some of the Doukhobors. The major legislation promoting such individual ownership is cited by Adelman to be the Dominion Lands Act of 1872, which "was meant to enshrine the process of settlement by private property owners. It served to exclude any other variation, including village based agriculture" (Adelman 1991:126). Szalasznyj sees the intent of the government in canceling the Doukhobors' reserved land as largely to change the social structure of the group by decentralizing settlement and drawing them into patterns of residence more like that of their non-Doukhobor neighbors (Szalasznyj 1977:237).

The general ideology of the Canadian government at the turn of the century is described by Adrian Cross-Kershaw as a kind of capitalist, materialist, "laissez-faire uniformitarianism" (Cross-Kershaw 1982:10). In the view of this author, the Government's change of policy to more strict regulation was a response not only to a

specifically distasteful manner of landholding, but to a general failure of the Doukhobors to participate in the larger economic structure of a growing capitalist nation. Cross-Kershaw perceives the turn of the century situation on the Prairies to be one in which the railway was to deliver a population of consumers to which retailers could market goods manufactured by the growing industrial centres. Cross-Kershaw believes that as the Doukhobors were poor consumers, the economic elite of the nation placed pressure on the government to act against them (Cross-Kershaw 1982:17).

William Janzen's wider perspective considers the school issues and military exemptions, as well as land-holding issues, to demonstrate that the Doukhobor ideology and social structure presented a challenge to Canada's new "liberal democratic order" (Janzen 1995:177). The desire to live separate from the state seems, in Janzen's work, to transcend individual political issues to form the major threat perceived by the Canadian government when more restrictive policies were formed (Janzen 1995:177). Janzen further suggests that a more lenient response by the government may have prevented many problems, such as the politically embarrassing Sons of Freedom movement (Janzen 1995:177).

On the Canadian Prairies, the immediate protectors of government Policy with which the Doukhobors had contact were members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Carl Betke offers a somewhat rosy picture of the relations between the two groups, noting that in police reports the farming, horse breaking, and house building abilities of the Doukhobors overshadowed any indications of cultural deviance (Betke 1974:3). He writes that "[t]he adjustment of the great majority of Doukhobors to peaceful agricultural pursuits presented a gratifying conclusion to the efforts of the mounted police and the government that directed them" (Betke 1974:12).

Adelman's 1995 view of the cultural intolerance of the frontier environment presents a view diametrically opposed to that of Betke. He writes that "[t]he episode saw the region's police forces deployed for the first time in systematic repression of an ethnic minority" (Adelman 1991:111). Here, the police reaction to protest marches that were chronicled yet downplayed in significance in Betke's work provide to Adelman a

prime example of police racism.

The culmination of the clash between the Doukhobor people and the Canadian government resulted in the 1907 cancellation of all but fifteen acres/person of the previously massive Doukhobor land reserves. Most authors divide the blame for this final action, which led to the eventual migration out of Saskatchewan of nearly all of the Community Doukhobors. Mealing and Dawson attribute this drastic measure to the Doukhobor refusal to comply with government land entry and naturalization regulations (Mealing 1984:73, Dawson 1936:12). Adelman, conversely, places much of the blame on the intolerance of the Canadian government (Adelman 1991:112).

2.2.2.2 Focus on Leaders and Individuals

It is important at this point to note that many historians dealing with issues surrounding the Doukhobors in Canada write not of the Doukhobors themselves, but on their non-Doukhobor sympathizers and their leader, Peter V. Verigin. Dawson, though a sociologist, attributes much of the course of Doukhobor history to either inconsistency and indecisiveness without, or control under their leader, Peter V. Verigin (Dawson 1936:18 and 26). Szalasznyj also devotes a great deal of discussion to Verigin as an individual leader, and in his personal dealings with the government (Szalasznyj 1977:125, 127-8, 144). Woodcock and Avakumovic (1969) present a similar view.

Recent works deal with some other, even more peripheral, figures. Woodcock's 1968 work presents a large section discussing the individual supporters and organizers that helped to arrange the Doukhobor immigration to Canada. This is followed up by his 1995 article dealing specifically with James Mavor, Peter Kropotkin, and Lev Tolstoy (Woodcock 1995). Tamara Burlakova offers an admiring biographical view of the non-Doukhobor Russian, Leopold Sulerzhitsky, who traveled with the Doukhobors to Canada (Burlakova 1995). David Elkington also masks a discussion of the journals of Joseph Elkington, a well-known Quaker observer of the Doukhobor people, and the involvement of English businessman Aylmer Maude and pacifist nobleman Prince

Khilkov, under the title of a "Quaker - Doukhobor Connection" (Elkington 1995). The actual discussion of Doukhobors in the piece is minimal.

2.2.3 **Summary of Historiography**

Through the use of examples from historical, geographical, and sociological studies of the Doukhobors on the Canadian Prairies, a general dichotomy in the themes of interpretation has been demonstrated. In the examination of Doukhobor social structure, factionalization, external relations, and related government policy, authors present a view of the Doukhobors as either a passive social entity whose rigid, transplanted culture is eroded by 'Canadian' ways, or as an active and dynamic social force whose activities and ideologies shaped the direction of culture change and the future of their social, political relations, and internal relations.

2.3 *Primary Sources*

2.3.1 **Non-Doukhobor Observer Reports**

During the occupation of the Doukhobor villages in Saskatchewan, several individuals traveling through or near the settlements wrote articles describing what they observed within, or heard about, the villages.. Four main documents of this kind were consulted, and will be discussed here.

The most widely known and published account of life with the Doukhobors by a non-Doukhobor observer was written by Leopold A. Sulerzhitsky between the years 1989 and 1902, and was first published in Russian in 1905 (Burlakova 1995:101). Sulerzhitsky was a Russian Tolstoyan, formerly associated with the Moscow Art Theatre (Burlakova 1995:101). His *To America With the Doukhobors* is composed as a journal of the daily activities he observed in the North and South colony villages. Sulerzhitsky focuses in his work on the daily political and logistical struggles experienced primarily by the male members of the community. When there is some description of daily life, such as in the discussion of Doukhobors and their health care practices, it can be at once derisive and complimentary.

On a February day circa 1900, writer Jonathan Rhoades spent a day among the Doukhobors of Terpennie village near Rosthern, Saskatchewan. The dramatically written article was evidently intended to entertain a reading audience as much as, if not more than, to inform. The highly descriptive prose lends itself well to the description of the Doukhobor village, its houses, and its residents. Especially valuable are descriptions of the house interiors and family activities, including the oven, or *peche*, the presence of such decoration as house plants, and the sleeping arrangement within the house (Rhoades 1900:9-10). This account is perhaps the most valuable of all first-person observations in that it describes the Doukhobor village in great detail, involves information gleaned from personal communication (through an interpreter) with members of the community, and takes place in a village not far from the village with which this report is concerned.

Nine years later, writer Wilhelm Cohnstaedt visited the village of Petrofka while in the company of German settlers from the Rosthern area. Cohnstaedt did not directly converse with village residents, but instead credits a local German farmer with "[t]he most interesting information about the Doukhobors"(Cohnstaedt 1909:20). His descriptions are less detailed than Rhoades, and the main interests of his discussion are the public displays presented by some Doukhobors, the 'progress' of their assimilation, and the hospitality of his German friends. This author provides only a short description of the village, and that provided seems to indicate a place in a state of disarray, in contrast somewhat to Rhoades' descriptions. This may be due in part to the different eyes of the observers, in combination with the nine year period in which the slow trickle of village abandonment left some lots looking poorly-kept.

In 1911, writer John A. Cormie also visited an unnamed Doukhobor village on the Assiniboine River, which he later reported to *The University Magazine*. He was able to converse with an English-speaking member of the community, learning of the still communistic activities of the residents. Reported more than once is the interviewee's distress at the 'lies' expressed elsewhere in the press at the time, saying "Lots o' papers, lots o' liars" (Cormie 1911:593). Cormie discusses what he perceives to be the

commercial success of the Doukhobors, as evidenced by their brickyard, elevators and structures. It is a somewhat idealized account of the Doukhobors' economic practice, which seems not to be researched too carefully. However, Cormie's thrust is interesting in that he places the Doukhobors in a passive battle against the allure of the developing commercialism in western Canada.

2.3.2 **Doukhobor Observers, Past and Present**

Two unpublished written memoirs composed recently by Doukhobor elders about their memories of Petrofka village were acquired through consultations with local Doukhobor informants. Both are useful to the study of daily life at the Doukhobor villages. Mary Sookerokoff, born in 1912, presents personal memories that encompass a time after the abandonment of village life began, during the 'teens and twenties'. Her observations generally describe life on her family's independent farm or visits to relatives' homes in the village. Alex Bayoff was also born in Canada after settlement of the villages, but tells the story of his father's childhood experiences during immigration and village settlement. He states that "[a]s I have mentioned before, Dad was 11 years old, not old enough to remember everything and could be too young and have missed some valuable information" (Bayoff 1985:1). This statement reinforces the known weaknesses of such sources, as most are written or told through the memories of stories told by older generations.

Through the 1970s, Koozma Tarasoff conducted a series of interviews with Doukhobor elders in Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Ontario. The location of the interview and information in the brief synopses available were considered, and based on this information, six interviews were consulted. These reports also come from memory and orally transmitted information, and consist of answers to questions posed by Tarasoff. Most of the information presented is concerned with the political and philosophical workings of the Doukhobor communities in Canada in recent times. Written excerpts from interviews with Doukhobor elders are published in Tarasoff's *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways* (1977), and provide information more applicable to

this archaeological study.

Informal interviews were also conducted by myself with seven individuals in the Doukhobor communities at Verigin, Saskatoon, and Blaine Lake. The individuals were contacted and their permission granted for an in-person interview which would take place in each informant's home. To maintain the comfort of the subject, first interviews were not recorded, and notes were made of the topics discussed. Interview questions focused on the informants memories of life in and near Doukhobor villages in Saskatchewan, and of oral history passed through their families regarding village life. This included their perspective on such issues as vegetarianism, communalism, and abstention from alcohol. In addition, inquiries were made about village layout and buildings. Although some interesting information and stories were shared in these meetings, all of the subjects were very young children, or were not yet born, when their families resided in the villages. Clear memories of daily activities in the early days are rare. After first interviews were completed and information recorded in written notes, I decided that a second set of more formal interviews recorded on audio tape would not be necessary. Two video recorded interviews with Doukhobor elders from Saskatoon were available from the private collection of local informant Sam Popoff. One of these is of special interest, as subject Polly Popoff is able to provide some specific information about her home village of Kirilovka.

2.3.3 **Government Documents**

Several government documents produced by the Department of the Interior during the occupation of the Saskatchewan Doukhobor villages provide small amounts of information about the village residents and their activities. Housed at the Saskatchewan Archives, the correspondence of surveyors involved with the mapping of Doukhobor lands offers some insights. The most useful of these files is the correspondence of C.C. Fairchild (Saskatchewan Archives Board File #R-183:I.I76), who in 1909 was given the task of mapping all of the Doukhobor village sites in the colonies.

Correspondence within the Department of the Interior provides statistics relating

to Doukhobor land and property holdings (J.C. Cowan 1938; McDougall 1907), informal censuses of village residents (Copland 1899), and a letter from Yorkton resident J.K. Johnson to Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, describing his personal experiences with local Doukhobors. The tone of Johnson's letter indicates the negative reactions of many local residents to the Doukhobor newcomers. Although the sense of racism is less evident in the other government documents, any description was first observed through non-Doukhobor eyes, and therefore may be embellished to prove a specific point. It must be remembered that at the time many of these reports and letters were written, the aim of the Canadian government was to seize and redistribute much of the Doukhobor reserve land to other settlers, and in doing so the efforts of Doukhobor residents were to be discredited.

Two of the most useful documents available among those of the Department of the Interior are the Kirilovka Village File and the 1909 "Map of the Doukhobor Village of Kirilovka" prepared by C.C. Fairchild. The limitations placed on the mapping process are discussed later in the description of village structure.

2.3.4 **Photographs**

Photographs of Doukhobors, their villages, and their homes are available in the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon Public Library Department of Local History, and in Koozma Tarasoff's two publications *Plakun Trava* and *A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors.* Although many photos of Doukhobor families were posed and formal, and at the time indoor photography was made difficult by the needs of lighting, there are some very valuable photographic records. Helen Schrader, a resident of Saskatoon from 1907-1956, visited a Doukhobor village near Langham in ca. 1910, and photographed its buildings and residents. Her photographs, although all outdoors, capture candid moments in the daily lives of residents at the village. Close views of fencing, and construction are present, as is a certain amount of yard scatter. Coincidentally, Schrader's father owned the Red Wing Union Stoneware company in Minnesota, one of the manufacturers represented in the material culture from Kirilovka. Aerial

photographs made by the Department of National Defense in the 1940s are also available, in which visible ruins and soil discolourations indicate the location of the village in relation to contemporary landmarks.

2.3.5 **Local History Publications**

Between 1967 and the mid 1980s, several communities in Saskatchewan published local history books consisting of compiled historical sources and genealogical vignettes. Four such sources were consulted in the course of researching the history of the Prince Albert Colony Doukhobors. *Bridging the Years: Era of Blaine Lake and District:1790-1980* provides information from local Doukhobor residents on the villages of Oospennie, Slavanka, and Petrofka, and includes diagrams of the village structure, and the names of many residents (n.d.:24-28). Rosthern's *Old and New Furrows* discusses the settlement history of this region, somewhat closer to Kirilovka than Blaine Lake, although it devotes little attention specifically to the Doukhobors. One of the main values of Rosthern's local history that it provides information about early businesses, as this town was a centre of commerce for the local Doukhobors and other settlers. Similarly, Borden's local history discusses the many different religious communities present in its local population between 1905 and 1910, including Quakers, Mennonites, and Ukrainian Greek Catholics (n.d.:365-7). Finally, *The Langham Times* provides pieces of history of a community whose daily workings and wider connections were often involved closely with the residents of the three Doukhobor villages south of the North Saskatchewan River, between Langham and Henrietta. Through transcribed town council meeting notes, newspaper clippings, and reprinted local magazine articles, the increasing economic and educational interconnections between Doukhobor and non-Doukhobor residents over time can be seen.

Problems inherent in local histories such as these can, however, be discouraging. Many do not provide dates of publication or authors' names, and information is presented in an anecdotal fashion lacking formal references. The benefits of these sources, though, are also many. Some memoirs and articles are the only written record

of the memories of now deceased residents who served as 'living history books' during their lifetime.

2.4 *Previous Archaeological Investigations*

Only one other site in Canada whose occupation is attributed to Doukhobor settlers has been archaeologically investigated. As part of the mitigation excavation associated with the Oldman River Dam, the Maloff Farm (DjPm-241), site of the village of Bozhiya Milost, was studied.

This site, located in the Cowley-Lundbreck region of Alberta, was home to approximately fifty people in a village between 1915-17 and 1937. The village was established as part of an 11,000 acre expansion of the British Columbia Doukhobor colonies initiated under the leadership of Peter Verigin (Kennedy and Reeves 1986:152). Bozhiya Milost was one of thirteen villages in this area established to supply grain and other products to the British Columbia Doukhobors. After 1937, when the holdings of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood were foreclosed, some Doukhobor residents purchased land around the village and maintained local residence (Kennedy and Reeves 1986:152).

Remaining structures at the site at the time of assessment included a bania (steam bath house) and barn. Other buildings present during the occupation of the village included "four houses, a garage, a blacksmith shop and privies" (Balcom 1991:60), that were all dismantled after the village was left in the 1930's. Mitigation activities involved the excavation of a root cellar, two privies, and a hot box, in addition to a number of test units and backhoe trenches. Although brief descriptions of the artifacts recovered and the structures excavated are present, there is no interpretation of the materials.

Chapter 3
Doukhobor Villages in Saskatchewan and the Village of Kirilovka

3.1 *Doukhobor Villages in The Saskatchewan Colonies*

It was previously believed that there were sixty one villages within the three colonies reserved for Doukhobor settlement. Tracie's research concerning Doukhobor settlement patterns and village relocation leads to the conclusion that in reality there were more than ninety villages established in the colonies during the first two decades of the twentieth century (Tracie 1996:208). This discrepancy is generally due to the relocation of villages, some of which kept the original name after moving. The presence of sixty one village names may be mistakenly interpreted to conclude that there was the same number of settlements. Doukhobor village names were chosen with respect to what was familiar, and often reminiscent of the homeland. Victor Buyniak asserts that the Doukhobors were conservative in their assignment of place names:

> [s]ome of them are derived from proper names or surnames of persons, others have religious connotation, some denote Christian qualities or virtues, some refer to the hard lot of Russian peasants, and some were coined from place names already in existence (Buyniak 1980:1).

Although there were differences in the architecture, village plan, and social structure among these many villages, some basic uniformities existed. In an 1899 letter to his friend and philosophical mentor, Lev Tolstoy, Verigin expresses his idea of how the recently arrived Doukhobor settlers in Canada were to establish their villages:

> I would support an agreement whereby villages were constructed as they usually are, i.e., the houses built in rows according to the lay of the land, but even if built by common efforts and using common standards, the little houses would each have room only for a single family. As for space for storing purely communal things like grain etc., a separate barn should be built for grain. Later facilities like repair shops, creameries and mills, could be built by each village for their common interest and through their collective efforts. As long as

> the ground yields fruit, essential agricultural equipment could be purchased on credit from local factories, and even such things as are needed to set up a mill, for example, state-of-the-art turbines, etc (letter from P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 1 February 1899. Obdorsk; in Donskov 1995:43).

The typical Doukhobor village depended on a largely agricultural economy, with an origin in highly diversified activities. Describing a Russian Doukhobor settlement on the Don River around 1917, a widow in North Central Saskatchewan remarked that:

> [i]n Slavanka it was a hilly region with grass on it and mountains in the distance somewhat, like British Columbia. They grew grain and raised cattle, horses, and sheep. Grandfather had bees. Doukhobors grew big gardens and had orchards of apples, pears, and plums. Irrigation came from local streams... They grew many watermelons, cantelopes [sic], and fruit trees (Widow, N.C. Sask., August 20, 1975, interview in Tarasoff 1977:120).

Although the climate of Saskatchewan could not support some of these activities, local villages did engage in grain farming, vegetable gardening, and keeping cattle, horses, sheep, and poultry.

Each village accommodated approximately 200 people, or forty families, in individual houses arranged according to a *strassendorf* plan. According to this plan, two identical rows of houses faced each other across a wide main avenue (see figure 3.1). This pattern of settlement reflects, to some extent, the egalitarian principles on which Doukhobor society and economy were thought to be based. This contrasts somewhat with David Burley, Gayel Horsfall, and John Brandon's characterization of loosely structured Metis wintering villages as reflecting egalitarian principles. According to these authors, non-geometrically organized Metis village sites:

> reflected and served to perpetuate Metis social relations based on egalitarian and communal principles of social organization and flexibility in the composition of the wintering village population. Each family group had access to an unrestricted landscape within the village, with no concern for a hierarchy of spatial locations dictated by differential status or rank (Burley et al 1992:97).

The contrast here is in the rectilinear and repetitive structure of the Doukhobor

villages, versus the less linear organization of Metis wintering camps. The egalitarian philosophy of the Doukhobor people is well demonstrated in their religious practice and history. Although some families acted independently, and there was usually a village 'headman' or spokesperson, in general there was a sense that as all living things carried the 'divine spark', all were equal. Burley et al do not clearly present the ethnographic or historical basis for the perceived egalitarianism of Metis society, so their association of the structure of the village with this type of social organization is somewhat weakened. It is difficult to say whether there are many different manifestations of egalitarianism possible in spatial organization of residential areas in the Canadian Northwest in the years directly before and after the turn of the twentieth century.

Figure 3.1: The village of Kirilovka, ca. 1900 - 1910 (Photo courtesy of Jack Dear, Langham, Sask.)

The individual houses of the villages in the Prince Albert Colony, the area in which Kirilovka was located, were generally of the low-profile house-stable combination plan defined by Carl Tracie (1996:145)(see figure 3.2). Houses built according to this

plan were long, single storey structures placed with the narrow, gabled end facing the main avenue. They were of log construction, with whitewashed clay plastered walls inside and out. Thatched or sod roofing was used on the early buildings, and in some instances was later replaced with more permanent materials. The front section of the house consisted of a combined living room/bedroom with low platforms around two or more walls on which family members slept, a kitchen area, and a rear bedroom. The dwellings' floors were earthen (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Tarasoff Collection Interview S-946), and the women of the household would sprinkle the floors with water each morning to keep the dust down inside the dwelling. One informant noted that women would sprinkle in decorative patterns that varied between families (Mrs. Stushnoff, personal communication 1996).

Figure 3.2: Side view of a Doukhobor house in the Saskatchewan Colony (photo courtesy of Saskatoon Public Library Local History Department)

Within the kitchen area was a *peche*, a large square brick/clay oven, approximately six to eight feet high and 5 feet wide (Gale 1973:172) heated by a wood fire and used for cooking food and heating the house. Individual anecdotes from informants suggest that the flat top of the peche was also used for sleeping in the cold winter months. In later

years, cast-iron wood stoves supplemented or replaced the original peche. Behind this room, the main entrance to the building was surrounded by an enclosed porch area, on the broad side of the building. Another bedroom was located behind the main room and porch, and would sometimes be used by the married son of the founding family and his wife. Cellars were located under wooden planks on the kitchen floor (Mary Sookerokoff, personal communication 1996).

Furniture in the main room and other rooms of the house depended on the wealth and taste of the inhabitants. Often only a dresser, table, and a few chairs would furnish the living area (Mary Sookerokoff, personal communication 1996), although in some cases more care, and likely expense, would be devoted to decorating the living space. In her memoirs, Mary Sookerokoff remembers the following of her aunt's house in Petrofka:

> [h]er living room was wall papered with a linolium [sic] on the floor. She had lace curtains on both windows. The two beds (real beds) were piled high with fluffy pillows, pretty comforters. There were growing flowers of every description, geraniums and actually plants that were usually grown outside like snapdragons, asters and petunias for example. The whole room smelt like a flower garden. There were two or three large framed pictures hanging on the wall (Sookerokoff n.d.:13).

Of the interior of a Doukhobor home visited shortly after the turn of the century, Cohnstaedt described that "[t]he most noticeable interior features of the house that I saw were a huge stove, a few foreign looking earthenware bowls, and considerable dirt. On the whole, this village looked poor and ill-kept, something totally unexpected in this country" (Cohnstaedt 1976:20). This observation must, however, be taken with some caution. Cohnstaedt received his information about the Doukhobors not from themselves, but from "a German who lives nearby" (Cohnstaedt 1976:20). Doukhobor oral testimony asserts that these settlers were very clean people with carefully kept houses (Rita Postnikoff, personal communication 1996).

Attached to the rear of the main house, often with a different roof height and separated by a porch, was a long structure containing any combination of granary,

storage shed, chicken house, barn or stable, and sometimes a 'washroom'. The barn might house the family's oxen, cow, or horses.

Behind the house, each family had a large vegetable garden, and occasionally an ornamental garden would be placed in front of the house. According to Verigin's plan for the villages, Doukhobors were encouraged to plant fruit trees wherever possible (Tarasoff 1982:54), but the climate of Saskatchewan and the relatively short term of occupation of many of the villages makes it unlikely that the Doukhobors were able to produce much of their own fruit.

Fencing was built along the street-facing side of each lot, and sometimes between individual lots. Of the Saskatchewan villages, Gale states that "[m]any houses had their own grounds, trees, and a garden. These grounds were usually enclosed with a fence to show privacy, but this was not a consistent pattern" (Gale 1973:168). Division of lots was also accomplished using less formal techniques than fences. Upon a visit to the village of Petrofka in 1909, Wilhelm Cohnstaedt made the following observation:

> we are faced with the strange sight of an authentic small Russian village: low, elongated one-storey houses, with the narrow sides facing the village road, the front third being the living quarters, the rest stables; the roof made of dirt and straw, the window frames painted with blue and red designs. Beside the house and of exactly the same height, the hay is stacked in such a way that the yard is completely and evenly enclosed on three sides (Cohnstaedt 1976:20).

There was some variation between house structures and floor plans, showing individual families' tastes. According to Gale "[t]here was considerable variation in roof lines, facades, number of stones, and ornamentations. From this it may be inferred that these characteristics were not governed by religious motive or leadership decree, but rather by personal preferences and taste" (Gale 1973:174). One informant also indicated that within villages, houses did not all necessarily share the same floor plan (Peter Kouznitsoff, personal communication 1996).

Much similarity in the Doukhobor plan to Mennonite village houses on the Canadian prairies is noted by Gerald Friesen, who writes of Mennonite villages:

> [t]heir domestic architecture, unvarying in pattern and yet quite

> different from house to house, was a distinctive variation on the peasant home:the neat front room was used only on formal occasions, and two or three bedrooms and kitchen completed the square. The focus of all such houses was the large stove and oven that heated the entire dwelling. What startled Canadians (though it was common in central Europe) was a passageway that linked house to barn, thus creating a single unit. (Friesen 1987:268).

As previously discussed, the Doukhobors at Milky Waters adopted many of the cultural traits of their Mennonite neighbors, including some architectural preferences.

One lot in each Doukhobor village was occupied by a *bania,* or steam-bath house. The bania was a two-room structure with a fireplace or stove placed between the rooms. The outer room, or porch, was used for building a fire in the stove to prepare the bathhouse, and for dressing. The inner room was a "steam room", with benches. Informants recalled that in order to prepare the bania, one would light a fire and allow it to burn down, heating a number of boulders. The ashes would be cleaned out of the fireplace and chimney, and then the chimney would be blocked so that steam could not escape. The bathers would then pour water over the heated rocks to produce steam for the inner room (George Stushnoff, personal communication 1996). For many Doukhobors, Saturday was traditionally bathing day, when groups of men and women would use the bania separately.

In addition to twenty five to forty houses and a bania, some villages had communal barns or stables, and community meeting houses where the *sobranie*, the weekly prayer meeting, was held. In general, villages of the Prince Albert colony did not build specific meeting houses, but instead held the *sobranie* in the homes of village families. Although there was some variation between individual Doukhobor villages in the house styles and building types present, photographs and maps show a general adherence to this basic structure.

3.2 *The Village of Kirilovka*

3.2.1 **Site location**

The village of Kirilovka was located near the south bank of the North Saskatchewan River valley, in the northwest quarter of section 14, township 39, range 8 west of the third meridian (see Figure 3.3 below). It was located 6 km from the present day town of Langham, and 1 km south of the North Saskatchewan River in the Rural Municipality of Corman Park. The former main street of the village was aligned roughly north-south, and according to air photos was used, until the present ownership, as the access road to the Ribalkin's farm (see Figure 3.4).

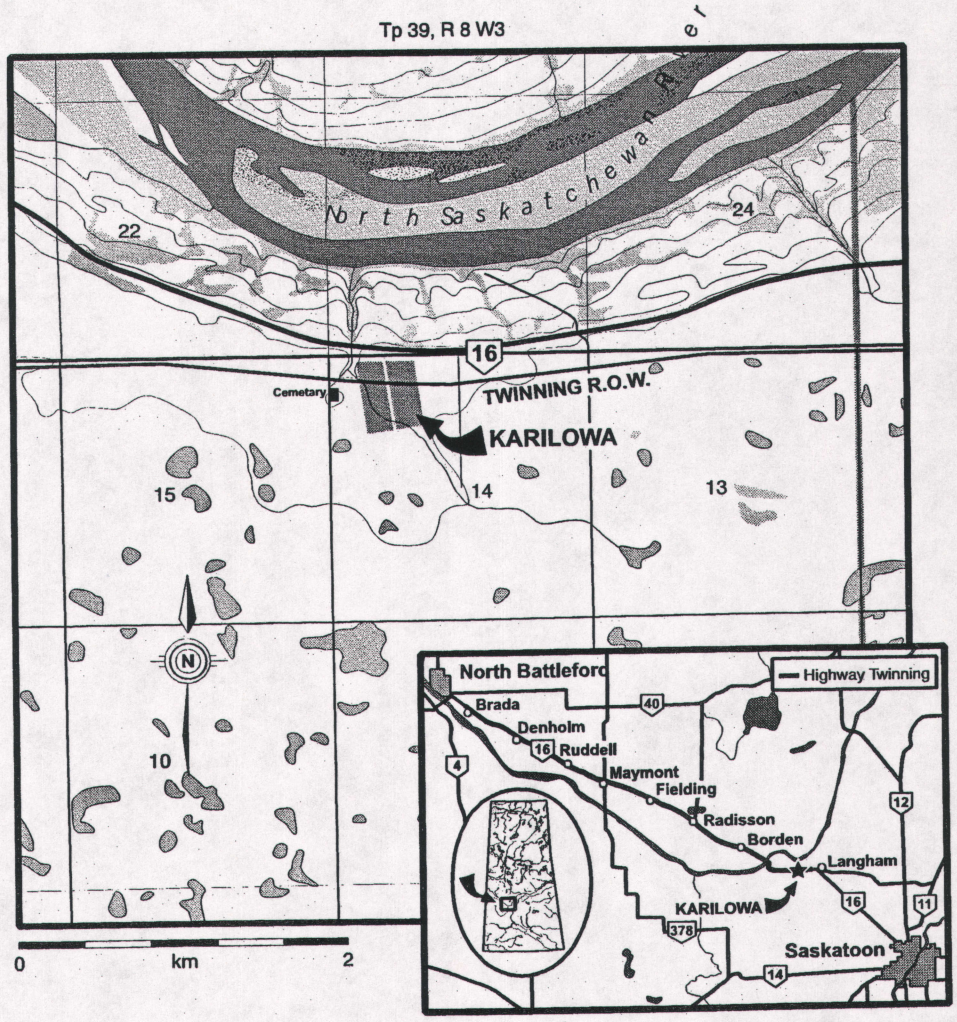


Figure 3.3: Map of location of Karilowa village site (map by Shelley McConnell, WHS).

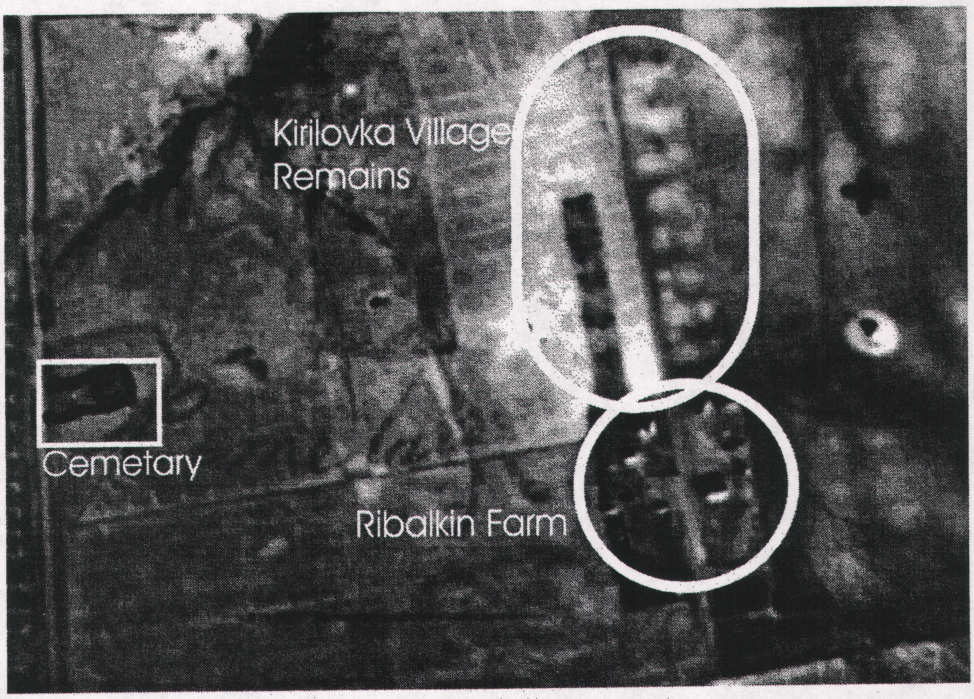


Figure 3.4: 1944 air photograph of Kirilovka village site, showing Ribalkin farm.

3.2.2 **Environmental setting**

Kirilovka was located on a flat plain overlooking the rolling terrain of the North Saskatchewan River Valley to the north. Local soils are characterized as dark brown chernozemic soils, with moderate to severe limitations in agricultural capacity due to insufficient ability to hold water (Shields and Rostad 1969:106), and as light, dark-brown, high-lime soils by Looman and Best (1979:9). The dominant natural vegetational zones before the establishment of agriculture in the region were spear grass/wheatgrass and aspen parkland (Coupland and Rowe 1969:76), although at the time of excavation the quarter section was planted with canola. According to Looman and Best (1979), the site is located on or near the border between the Prairies and the Central Parkland. The prairie border and parkland openings consist of mid-grass prairie,

while groves of trees include primarily aspen poplar and willow (Looman and Best 1979:9). Within nearby coulees and along the river valley, Doukhobor residents noted the presence of fruit bearing chokecherry, pincherry, and saskatoon bushes (Nosteroff 1993). Of the environment of the Saskatchewan Colony, Carl Tracie writes the following:

> [t]he physical character of the Saskatchewan Reserve was extremely varied. Sections of first-class agricultural lands were interspersed with sand hills, stony areas, numerous swamps, sloughs and ponds, and rough broken land associated with the North Saskatchewan River and the ravines running into it ...The prairie on the reserve south of the river was more open with fewer clumps of poplar and willow compared to the 'bushier' prairie north of the river. Only around the edges of the lakes and along the banks and ravines of the North Saskatchewan River was timber of sufficient size or extent for building (Tracie 1996:15).

Local mammal populations include white-tail and mule deer, coyote, raccoon, snowshoe rabbit, and white-tailed jackrabbit (Maher 1969:80-81), although there is no indication that any of these species, other than rabbit, were used by Doukhobor inhabitants. The residents of Kirilovka did, however, engage in fishing for food, and the nearby North Saskatchewan River provides species such as sturgeon, northern pike, and walleye (Atton 1969:83).

3.2.3 **Village History**

The Prince Albert reserve consisted of twelve townships set aside for the Doukhobors by the Department of the Interior, as an addition to those in the Assiniboia region, in June 1899 to help accommodate the last boat-load of approximately 2000 Kars settlers (Tracie 1996:17). By 1907, twenty-one townships were included in the reserve area (Tracie 1996:14). The reservation of land in the Prince Albert colony differed, however, from that in the North and South Colonies, as in the former the Doukhobors were only granted even numbered sections of land, as the odd numbered sections were given to the Canadian Pacific Railway. This railway allowance was waived in the first two reserve areas so that settlement blocks could be more closely spaced.

Kirilovka village was one of three settled in the 'western arm' of the reserve land, south of the North Saskatchewan River. The three were called the 'First' (Kirilovka), 'Second' (Bogdanofka), and 'Third' (Pokrofka) villages by residents, after the respective order of their settlement (Nosteroff 1993). The three villages shared a mill near the village of Bogdanofka (George Stushnoff, personal communication 1996).

The land reserved for the Kirilovka village residents consisted of all sections of 14-39-8 W3rd and 10-39-8 W3rd, as well as all but the southeast quarter of section 12-39-8 W3rd (Vol. 755, Pt. 6, Department of the Interior RG15, D-II-1). As of 1905, Kirilovka had forty-four homesteads of land and had twenty-eight homesteads on which at least thirteen acres had been cultivated (although work was concentrated on eleven of these homesteads) (Tracie 1996:147).

The original population of Kirilovka, at first known as "Kirealovka-Neeshnya" (Tracie 1996:25), dispersed from the northern village of Spasofka, and consisted of approximately forty families (Nosteroff 1993). The founding families, mostly from the Kars district of Russia, arrived at the location of the village in June, 1899 (George Stushnoff, personal communication 1996). As of 1905, there were twenty-three homes in the village, all occupied, and one community stable (in Kirilovka Village File). Residents of Kirilovka communally owned stock and equipment including 50 horses, 50 sheep, 120 head of cattle, 5 binders, 9 mowers, 11 sets of harrows, 11 sleighs, 3 rollers, 3 rakes, 18 plows, 1 disk, 22 wagons, and 2 disc seeders (in Kirilovka Village File). The crop yield in 1905 was listed as including 8441 bushels of wheat, 8652 bushels of oats, 1726 bushels of barley, and 600 bushels of flax (in Kirilovka Village File).

Fairchild's 1909 map records the presence of 33 individual lots and 38 standing buildings, but does not indicate those lots still occupied at the time of mapping, and the function of the structures. The notes provided to Fairchild by Doukhobor Commissioner John McDougall prior to the survey state the following about the village of Kirilovka:

> [v]illage site is to be surveyed and subdivided into lots as proportionately as the location of buildings will permit, and the communion bakery to be cut off John Nemikinis' lot, and a joint roadway between his house and the bakery and in the rear of the

> bakery to be left open for all villagers, as decided on the ground. A road to be surveyed to the nearest suitable Government road. Population 196 (Saskatchewan Archives Surveyors' Files, C.C. Fairchild, R-183, I.176).

John Niminichen, likely the same man as mentioned in the above citation, was reported in 1909 to be the head of the only Independent Doukhobor homestead in the village of Kirilovka, and to have a bread oven erected in his yard (Kirilovka Village file, 28 April 1909). The oven was likely cut off from Mr. Niminichen's property so as to allow its communal use by the other Doukhobors, while preventing any argument with the independent Niminichen family. Unfortunately, the finished map does not note the location of a bakery, nor is there a road between two surveyed lots.

Village buildings were primarily houses of the low-profile plan described above, in addition to a bania and community barn for cows in the southwest part of the village (Nosteroff 1993). There was no community hall built in this village; instead the *sobranie* was held in individual family homes. One informant mentioned that water for use by the villagers was brought in barrels from the river (Nosteroff 1993).

Kirilovka was reportedly one of the most communalistic villages in the Prince Albert Colony, a colony which was generally characterized by a high number of Independent Doukhobors. However, in its structure and architecture the village more closely resembled its Prince Albert Colony neighbours than the more communalistic villages in the eastern reserves. Of the architecture and sharing principles, Tracie writes:

> [t]he basic distinction between the individual houses and the house-barn combinations... reflects differences in the method of agricultural production. The more individualistic settlers in the Saskatchewan Colony, in the main, built the traditional Russian house-barn combination, since the livestock and the produce were owned individually. The communally minded settlers of the other two reserves, however, modified the traditional form by eliminating the barn section of the house in favor of the communally built and shared barns (Tracie 1996:37-40; see also Tarasoff 1969:75).

It is evident here that the more individualistic nature of the Prince Albert colonists is considered by Tracie to represent *more traditional* cooperative behaviour, as opposed to

the relatively new rules of communalism introduced and enforced by Verigin in the east.

In 1900, only four of the ten villages in the Prince Albert Colony were reportedly communal in nature. However, after the arrival of Verigin, twelve of thirteen villages in this colony reported themselves to be communal in response to the leader's appeals. By 1909, however, Kirilovka and Bogdanofka were the only two remaining communal villages in the reserve (Tracie 1996:148-150). While the village of Kirilovka was reportedly communal, the residents were not followers of Verigin: "Kirilovka also continued to maintain a sizeable independent-communist [sic] population and about half of these continued to refuse to make entry for land because of the oath of allegiance, although apparently they too rejected any practical identification with the CCUB" (Tracie 1996:194).

After misunderstandings and disagreements between the Canadian government and the Doukhobors led to the forfeit of much of the Doukhobors' reserve land, lands surrounding Kirilovka (Twp 39 Rg 8 W3, excluding the village site) were opened for public entry on June 3, 1907 (Saskatchewan Archives Surveyors' Notes, C.C. Fairchild, R-183, I.176). The Kirilovka village files show the decline in time of the village population following this event. McDougall's 1907 report on the Doukhobor Commission submitted to the Minister of the Interior states that Kirilovka had 147 "communist" occupants, 1239 cultivated acres, and 38 of 43 entries under cultivation. In addition, Kirilovka's stock consisted of 120 cattle, 46 horses, and 50 sheep (National Archives Vol. 755, Pt. 6, Department of the Interior RG15, D-II-1). By 1910, 25 residents of Kirilovka left for British Columbia settlements (Kirilovka Village File). In 1912, 98 "Independent-Communists" resided in Kirilovka. By spring of the following year, that number dropped to 90, then to 85 in the fall of 1913. By 1917, only 22 individuals remained in the village (Tracie 1996:196; Kirilovka Village File). Many of those who left the village did so to occupy their own farms in the vicinity.

On November 11, 1916 Peter Ribalkin, a resident of the village, applied for patent for the quarter section of land on which the village was located. A letter written within the Department of the Interior regarding this application on November 18, 1919 states

that "Persons residing in the Doukhobor villages were allowed until the 1st of May, 1919 within which to remove after which their rights would lapse" (Kirilovka Village File).

Mr. Ribalkin received patent, less a roadway and cemetery, on January 21, 1920. The Ribalkin family's house and farmyard were built at the south end of the village site, and are visible in a 1944 air photo, and 1970, 1975, and 1985 air photos taken by the Canadian Department of Energy. In the earliest air photo, remnants of village features remain visible in the ground, although no standing structures remain. Approximately ten years ago, this land was sold to the present owner by the Ribalkins, and the farmhouse was removed.

3.2.4 **Local History**

The nearby town of Langham was incorporated in 1907, with a population of 506 (*The Primrose Guide* January 1, 1867 as printed in the *Langham Times* n.d.). Early settlement was apparently sparse, as Jean MacKay wrote in 1933 "Langham district was not settled as early as some other parts of Saskatchewan. The reason for this was that this district was reserved for a Doukhobor settlement" (MacKay 1933:1, as reprinted in Epp, n.d). According to MacKay, a small number of settlers took up homesteads in the region between 1902 and 1904. The "Primrose Guide", a Saskatoon dairy farmers' newspaper, reports that "In 1901 a Hutterite colony settled south of Langham, and in 1902 people from the United States, Eastern Canada and Great Britain began pouring into Saskatchewan". Rosthern's local history publication, *Old and New Furrows* (n.d.:19), reports that among the early settlers in the region of this town were thirty one families of Mennonites arriving in 1891 and 1892, and Galician immigrants who first entered the district in 1898. After the railway was built in 1904, more settlement came quickly to the region. For a time, Langham was the terminus of this railway line, until it crossed the river in 1905. By 1910, Borden established meeting places for local Quaker, Mennonite, and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox settlers, among other religious denominations (Borden History Book Committee 1980:365-7).

During the period of early settlement, before the railway, MacKay notes that "[t]he

pioneer's marketplace was at Osler and Rosthern" (MacKay 1933:1). The coming of the railway provided both employment for the Doukhobors during its construction, and facilitated the shipment of new volumes and varieties of consumer goods to stores in Saskatoon, Rosthern, and Langham.

A ferry was located at the "First Doukhobor Village", which was one of Kirilovka's titles, in 1909. The Langham town council minutes note that it was moved to this location, but from where is not specified (Epp, n.d). In 1911, plans were underway for the launching of a ferry in Langham, which would move some traffic away from the village of Kirilovka (Epp, n.d). Some activity was attracted to this region also by oil drilling which was taking place near the North Saskatchewan River around 1905 (Robinson 1933:1, as reprinted in Epp, n.d).

The importance of nearby centres such as these to the Doukhobor villages is expressed in a statement by Gerald Friesen regarding Mennonite settlements on the Canadian prairies:

> construction of a railway through the West Reserve, the largest bloc of arable land in the Mennonite community, and its inevitable accompaniment of service centres complete with elevators and stores, altered the Mennonite situation again. The towns served as 'the bridgeheads for the assimilation of Mennonites into prairie society' because they enabled the individual farmer to survive outside the village system (Friesen 1987:268-9).

These new contacts available to the Doukhobors, combined with the internal potential for schism, and the external pressures placed on them by the Canadian government, led to the eventual depopulation of almost all Doukhobor villages in Saskatchewan within the first two decades of the 20th century.

3.3 *Economic and Consumer Activity in Doukhobor Villages*

3.3.1 **Economic Pursuits**

The Doukhobors of the Saskatchewan villages were involved with both external markets and exchange within the Doukhobor community in the sale of agricultural products. While surplus grain from each village was usually sold, after the

establishment of settlements in British Columbia east-west networks of trade between Doukhobor settlements began. In an instructive letter to the Doukhobors, Verigin makes the following request:

> I would ask the brothers and sisters of the Bogdanovo and Kirilovo villages in the Prince Albert area to hold back any extra wheat they may have to supply our needs in B.C. I suggest they contribute the hundred-dollar levy from this summer's income, and we will pay them for the wheat. It will be fairer that way (24 September 1909:Letter to the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood from Peter Verigin in Donskov 1995:95).

In addition to their activities in grain agriculture, members of the Saskatchewan Doukhobor colonies engaged in varied economic pursuits to increase the income of their family and/or community. This involvement in a diverse economy was not new with the migration to North America, but took place even at Russian settlements, as Gary Dean Fry writes that in addition to having sheep, wheat fields, successful fruit orchards and a stud farm:

> the Doukhobors [in Russia] engaged in a myriad of other economic pursuits. ...the Doukhobors made cloth and weaved [sic] canvas, belts, girdles, and sashes. Horses and cattle joined sheep on the Doukhobor pastures (Fry 1976:332).

As mentioned previously, Gale writes of Russian settlements that although "the 'fasting Doukhobors' would not eat meat or kill cattle they did continue to raise cattle to sell to others for butchering. This practice was to continue even after they came to Canada"(Gale 1973:110). Although butchered cow bones archaeologically recovered from Kirilovka suggest meat preparation for some purpose, more proof of this activity is needed to support Gale's statement.

In the first years of Canadian settlement, a large proportion of male community members worked away from the villages on farms and on the new railroad to earn money to support their brethren. Sulerzhitsky's journal of life with the Doukhobors in 1899 states of Doukhobor railway workers that "[t]hey received the same wages as the English workers and if sometimes less, only a little less. On day work on the line they

received the same wages as the rest" (Sulerzhitsky 1982:202). Farm labour was also available on Mennonite farms near the Saskatchewan Colony settlements. Tarasoff writes that in the in the first year of settlement, among the Kars colonists of the Saskatchewan Colony, about one hundred and fifty men and women worked on Mennonite farms for $25.00 per month, while some others were away on railroad work (Tarasoff 1982:64). The practice of working away from one's homestead was not specific to the Doukhobors, but was practiced by a large proportion of early agricultural settlers on the prairies. Friesen writes that:

> [m]any thousands of prairie farmers in the pre-war years had been, of necessity, part time laborers. They sustained their homestead gamble - as the economists would say, their 'undercapitalized' business - by working on larger neighboring farms as hired hands, by joining itinerant threshing crews, and by heading out for a road or rail construction site, logging camp, or mine town, As late as 1936, 75 per cent of the agricultural labour force in Alberta (100,000 people) relied on wage labour to supplement their farm incomes (Friesen 1987:319).

Such activity brought members of many different ethnic and religious groups together for seasonal work.

Finally, Seneca root was a non-cultivated cash crop gathered by women and children of the North Colony Doukhobors and sold for commercial medicinal purposes (Tarasoff 1977:187, Tarasoff 1982:58). Tarasoff notes that in 1903, the North Colony Doukhobors earned over $10,000 in this activity (1982:58).

Individual or family level economic practices were reported exclusively by local informants. Mary Sookerokoff writes that "Grandpa had brought Turkish rugs from the old country and sold them at a good profit. As he was considered "rich", he was envied and disliked by a lot of the villagers. He was a very progressive man, could read and write" (Sookerokoff n.d.:16). An activity requiring less initial capital was undertaken by Mike Postnikoff, ferry operator at Petrofka during the 1920s. He caught fish in the North Saskatchewan river in nets or traps, smoked them, and sold the finished product to passers by along the road past town. Among his customers were members of the local

Jewish community on their way to the Synagogue on Saturdays (Rita Postnikoff, personal communication 1996).

In cases where large numbers of individuals worked on the railway, farms, or sold Seneca root the money earned would go into the community's funds. However, independent pursuits like the sale of rugs or smoked fish likely earned extra income for the family itself. Many more individual and family activities probably remain unreported, for it is in activities at the family level that written histories of the Doukhobors are generally lacking. Activities specific to independent economic activity would be considered anomalous in descriptions of communal Doukhobor life.

3.3.2 **Commercial Acquisition of Goods**

Complete self-sufficiency within the Doukhobor villages, although it was one of Verigin's goals, was not a reality before or after the migration to Canada. As mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, Doukhobor communities in both Russia and Canada engaged in activities to increase their group or family income. Following from this activity is an involvement in the commercial economy at a larger scale than the village. Fry writes that "[t]he Doukhobor economy at Milky Waters was not a closed economy. Necessity dictated that the colonists establish some economic contact with the outside", and that residents took grain to be milled to flour at Mennonite run mills, and bought goods at neighboring Orthodox towns (Fry 1976:332).

At the time of immigration, and for the first years thereafter, many goods were hand-made more as a result of economic necessity than a desire to maintain an inward looking, self-sufficient economy. One of Tarasoff's oral history informants states that:

> [i]t was once necessary to make your own clothes and furniture, as well as the garden implements. As money became more plentiful and as mass production provided for the availability of such necessities at a reasonable price, Doukhobors (like others) began to purchase these goods (Tarasoff 1977:157).

Even in situations where goods were made by the Doukhobors themselves, supplies for these goods had to be purchased from local merchants. Tarasoff describes

the following 1899 incident involving a non-Doukhobor sympathizer who traveled with the immigrants:

> [a]s a volunteer, Professor Mavor had authority to purchase some supplies which had been ordered by one of the Doukhobor villages 35 miles north of Yorkton. Two of these orders puzzled Mavor and the voluntary committee in Winnipeg. They were for iron bars and leather. The Doukhobors explained that iron was required to make spades and wagon tires, while leather was to be used for making harness. (Tarasoff 1982:55).

Tarasoff later notes that although blacksmith's forges were soon set up in the villages after arrival:

> [t]he habits of self-sufficiency were being transported to Canadian soil, though not for long, for they were soon to find that the factory produced goods were easier and quicker to obtain than the handmade ones (Tarasoff 1982:56).

Mass-produced goods were even acquired in bulk at the community-level. In a letter written to Tolstoy during a visit to Ontario, Verigin writes that "In Toronto we are visiting textile factories to get fabrics and other manufactured goods first-hand for the community" (P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 1 April 1905. Toronto, in Donskov 1995:72)

Many different commercial opportunities were available to the Kirilovka Doukhobors in the first two decades of this century. In the nearby town of Langham, a number of businesses were established between 1905 and 1910. These included a hardware store, lumber yard, flour mill, planing mill, two implement agencies, butcher, harness dealer, furniture store, drug store, and hotel (Robinson 1933:1).

Before the railway brought new businesses to Langham, Doukhobor representatives could patronize stores in Rosthern or Borden for supplies such as flour. During the first decades of the twentieth century, as many as eight stores operated in Rosthern to cater to the needs of local residents (Rosthern Historical Society, n.d). When the first rail line reached the town of Rosthern in 1905, it became a centre of trade for local rural residents. After the Canadian Northern Railway built a line from Prince Albert to Denholm in 1912, closely followed by the Carlton Line of the CNR built in 1914, commerce was drawn away from Rosthern. The Rosthern Historical Society's

local history publication states that:

> [t]hese two lines cut off a great deal of trade coming from the west. The large Doukhobor and German settlements that had formerly called Rosthern 'home' now found villages springing up on the lines which were able to cope with their everyday needs (Rosthern Historical Society n.d.:28).

According to its local history publication, Borden was also home to such businesses as two general stores, harness shop, and an implement dealer that were established in the town shortly after the railroad was built there in 1905 (Borden History Book Committee 1980:4).

Although somewhat further in distance, Saskatoon offered even more opportunities to consumers after the coming of the railway facilitated trips to this centre (Bayoff 1985:5). Artifacts in the Kirilovka collection indicate that the village's residents patronized businesses in both Saskatoon and Rosthern. In some cases merchants came directly to the Doukhobors in order to sell more expensive items. Rhoades writes that the men at Terpennie during his visit spoke of the "approaching pilgrimage of the Rosthern merchants to the village, for the purpose of holding the annual sales of implements, etc" (Rhoades 1900:28).

Through the end of the nineteenth century, mail order sale of a myriad of household goods became commonplace for many residents of rural areas near railway connections. The 1910-11 Hudson's Bay Company Fall and Winter Catalogue advertised a depot for delivery in Langham, the closest settlement to Kirilovka and a stop on the recently built rail line. The Eaton's catalogues supplied similar goods that could also be ordered through the mail.

In addition to general merchants in non-Doukhobor towns, there were stores in the villages of Petrofka and Oospennie for short periods during their occupation. At one time, the Petrofka store was managed by a non-Doukhobor resident named Eagleson. Local informants remember that children could trade eggs for candy at this store (Rita Postnikoff, personal communication 1996).

Some goods, however, were acquired by methods other than purchase. After their

migration to Canada the Doukhobors faced considerable financial hardship. Aid received in the first year of settlement included goods from the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Philadelphia such as tools, spinning wheels, and looms. Flannel was provided by the Canadian Council of Women. Four carloads of dried fruit were also sent by sympathizers in California (Tarasoff 1982:66). One of Tarasoff's oral history informants from North Central Saskatchewan recalled the aid received from Quakers. Tarasoff notes that:

> [t]he Respondent recalls his first year on the Saskatchewan prairie when the Quakers sent provisions and clothing to the Doukhobors. He regretted that his family didn't get any of this second-hand clothing because his father was relatively well-off when he came to Canada.

The respondent himself remarked:

> I was disappointed because the second-hand clothing that was sent, I never got into any of it. Some of the kids would repair something, shorten it, you know; new pants and all kinds of blouses and coats and it was something to be in (April 22, 1961, Interview 161-14 in Tarasoff 1977:109).

Scavenging was also a viable method of acquiring some goods, as Rhoades observes that the Doukhobors he visited "make use of everything - like Autolycus, they are 'snappers up of unconsidered trifles,' picking up nails, old horseshoes, or such things, and carrying them home and putting them to use"(Rhoades 1900:30).

As in the case of aid from outside agencies, less choice is available in scavenged goods than in the pages of a catalogue or the shelves of a local store. The 'unconsidered trifles' could be taken and used for their original purpose, or adapted in form or meaning to suit the immediate needs of the finder. In these cases, there is little or no sense of choice in the acquisition of consumable goods, for the village residents simply took what was offered to them or what was found. Further, there is no way of identifying in the archaeological record those goods that were imported from distant manufacturing centres and sold to the Doukhobors by local merchants, or those that came as gifts from American beneficiaries.

In a multidisciplinary compilation of articles on the subject of consumption, editor

Daniel Miller remarks that:

> [w]hile in politics consumption becomes synonymous with choice, I have argued that there is a much better definition of consumption that focuses on the opposite aspect of consumption as lack of choice (Miller 1987). To be a 'consumer' as opposed to being a producer implies that we have only a secondary relationship to goods. This secondary relationship occurs when people have to live with and through services and goods that they did not themselves create... consumption provides the only arena left to us through which we might potentially forge a relationship with the world (Miller 1995a:17).

This position is exemplified by the case of the Doukhobors, who acquired goods in many different ways and integrated them meaningfully into their daily lives. Regardless of how goods were acquired, commercially produced and sold merchandise found its way into Doukhobor lives within a very short time. Such objects did not come unencumbered into their homes of use, but carried with them meanings associated with the social context of their production and consumption.

Friesen discusses the social and economic environment of the western Canadian prairies at the time of the Doukhobor village occupations. He writes that:

> [t]he settled society of the post-1900 prairie west was, as the Motherwell example suggests, imbued with the atmosphere of Victorian England and Ontario. The co-operative ethos of the frontier had been succeeded by an individualism that would have done business leaders proud. And the egalitarianism of the early years had been replaced by an increasingly firm stratification.(Friesen 1987:315-16) [Motherwell homestead was settled in southern Saskatchewan by a prominent Ontario farm family].

Families like the Motherwells, originally from Ontario, existed in the top strata, in which an "English-Canadian background, material wealth, and personal capacities ensured that they would set the tone of local society" (Friesen 1987:316). Ethnicity was part of the stratification structure, as "citizens of south-eastern European origin and of certain other groups could rarely aspire, in these pre-war years, to higher social standing" Friesen remarks that these structures began to be modified by 1920, when "North America's superficial egalitarianism" began to take over (Friesen 1987:320).

According to Friesen's interpretation of the social structure of early twentieth century prairie life, the Doukhobors, although rural, were living in the midst of an Anglo-Canadian-based society with the same material language of consumption, display, and emulation as discussed in many archaeologically-based articles dealing with Victorian social classes and consumer choice. The choices made by the Doukhobors were likely informed by different factors than this structure of social order. The material language of goods, and their meanings to different social and ethnic groups, will be discussed further in the following chapter.

One area in which the Doukhobors, as consumers, continually maintained a high level of technological currency was that of farm machinery. Of settlements in Russia, Fry writes that:

> [m]aterially, the hardships of exile forced the Doukhobors to adopt agricultural techniques far in advance of their neighbors. Vermishev labeled the Doukhobors 'very great hunters' of technical improvements. Various observers noted the existence of iron ploughs, harrows and winnowing machines in the Transcaucasian Doukhobor villages " the Doukhobors were the first [in the region] to incorporate such devices into their agriculture (Fry 1976:339).

And once in Canada:

> Doukhobors were amongst the first of the pioneering settlers to make extensive use of steam powered tractors and farm machinery. Extensive use of the most modern technology grew rapidly after the arrival of Peter V. Verigin in December, 1902 (Tarasoff 1982:94).

To further support this point, in an observation of Terpennie village shortly after the turn of the century, Rhoades writes:

> [i]n every yard was a building used as a granary... Built against the granary in almost every instance was a lean-to implement shed, well stock with binders - a McCormick in every instance - harness, plows, mowers, rakes and every necessary agricultural implement (Rhoades 1900:21).

Simply the fact that the McCormick representatives came to this village to sell machinery, as mentioned above, suggests that the implement dealers had lucrative

business there.

Finally, Verigin's own letters to Tolstoy describe the technological advances adopted by the Doukhobors on the Canadian prairies:

> [the Doukhobors] have acquired - as major purchases, very important to them, eight steam threshers:six 18-h.p. machines drawn by horses and two 20-h.p. self-propelled vehicles... In the spring we are planning to manufacture bricks and tiling, using steam power... The Canadians are beginning to be quite amazed: on the one hand there are Doukhobors walking around stark naked, wanting to abandon physical labour altogether, while on the other hand they are acquiring the most up-to-date agricultural equipment (P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 1 December 1903. Otradnoe; Donskov 1995:58).

The present discussion is not directly concerned with the purchase and use of farm machinery by Doukhobor villages, although the example of the farm machinery displays an openness to new technology that likely influenced Doukhobor use of other commercial goods in the household and personal realms. A great variety of household and personal goods made their way into homes in the decades after the turn of the century. Presence and use of these goods necessitated changes in behaviour among Doukhobor families including the adoption of canning jar technology, or contemporary health care products, two examples of modern material culture that will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis.

Women's activities are often associated with the domestic, or household realm. Women in Doukhobor society in particular are cited as 'keepers of the faith' compared to their male counterparts. In oral recitation of psalms and prayers "women held a pre-eminent role as correctors - a fact that speaks to the significance that Doukhobors assigned to women as guardians and preservers of the faith" (Breyfogle 1995:29). The same viewpoint is shown by Inikova (1995).

On the general topic of women in early agricultural settlements, Lehr and Katz argue that:

> [t]he isolation of homestead life, exacerbated by poor roads, and the woman's traditional domestic role meant that women made visits to the local service centres less frequently than did men. Their exposure to the ways of the new land was thus reduced. Status was acquired

> from facility with the traditional roles of women in the old country... This was seen most directly in the longer endurance of traditional dress among women, in the survival of ethnic crafts and cuisine, and in the differentiation of landscape along gender lines. Those components of domestic milieux regarded as the preserve of the female retained an obvious 'ethnic' flavor long after the male's domain had begun to reflect the influence of Anglo-Saxon society. House decor, color schemes, organization of space within the home all resisted the onslaught of outside influence (Lehr and Katz 1994:79).

However, the nature of this 'ethnic flavor' can not be considered as a constant in the years after immigration. The households, the domain of women, were invaded by small objects representative of a different kind of consumer society than that which the Doukhobors were trying to produce. The presence of consumer goods in Doukhobor homes as early as 1900 is discussed by Rhoades in the following, very perceptive, remark:

> [t]he Doukhobors, like all continental people, are fond of pictures. Highly colored religious lithographs, and oleographs of German and Russian production hung about the walls, and were evidently not among the least prized of the room's furnishings. These formed a striking contrast with the calendars issued by the Rosthern merchants,... Almost equally startling contrasts could be met with wherever the eye looked. The east and west met here. On the wall could be seen the Russian counting machine... On the bare bed-bench could be seen a spinning-wheel, antique and quaint in shape,... In sharp contrast with these old-world relics were the American alarm clock ticking against the wall, and the modern cheap stove used to heat the apartment - for the big oven was used almost wholly for baking (Rhoades 1900:11).

It is apparent, then, both in historical documentation and in the archaeological record (as will be discussed later) that Doukhobors in Saskatchewan used a variety of mass produced goods in their daily lives. What this means in the context of Doukhobor identity and tradition is discussed following the chapters in which archaeological findings from Kirilovka are presented.

Chapter 4
Theoretical Framework

4.1 *Consumer Behaviour*

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rural availability and consumption of mass produced household goods was increasing in volume and variety compared to previous times (Schlereth 1989:341). The development of country stores and mail order catalogues, combined with the entrance of the railway into many regions, meant that rural consumers had a wider variety of goods from which to choose than ever before. Similarly, the establishment of local newspapers provided a vehicle for advertising many of the products on the market (Schlereth 1989:344). A concurrent increase in consumer activity can be partially attributed to this increased availability of goods, but other explanations must be presented for the amounts and kinds of goods bought by rural residents from different social or economic backgrounds.

Consumer behaviour is not an independent facet of culture; it is informed by ethnic identity, economic status, political beliefs, and other interconnected parts of human society. Researchers' acknowledgment of contextualizing factors such as ethnicity and economic status within a rapidly homogenizing material world therefore is necessary. Within historical archaeology, consumer choice studies attempt to deal with this challenge.

A common assumption made in archaeological studies of consumer behaviour is that the acquisition of goods includes the strategic action of shopping, or otherwise acquiring goods from an almost infinite range of consumables. This assumption does not apply well to the situation of the Doukhobors for whom donations of goods, scavenging, and creative reuse offered less variety from which to select. Consumer choice studies are considered here, however, because they best investigate the changing meanings of commercially produced and acquired goods as they are integrated into the material cultures of historic populations.

While many sources, both material and documentary, must contribute to a successful historical archaeological study, studies of consumer behaviour must also consider many sources within the text of material remains. Charles LeeDecker states that "[c]onsumer behaviour may be examined from various perspectives, including foodways and the use of manufactured goods such as ceramics, medicines, clothing, and household furnishings. Because the most successful studies are those that integrate multiple sets of data, the most suitable deposits contain a variety of artifact types" (LeeDecker 1994:346). Such a variety is considered in the present study, as ceramics, commercial packaging, medicinal artifacts, textiles, and food remains are all incorporated into the examination of material culture and meaning within Doukhobor society.

The present discussion is not intended to be a review of all approaches to consumer behaviour used by archaeologists or social historians in past decades. More comprehensive reviews are available in LeeDecker (1991) and Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy (1996).

4.1.1 **Consumption and Socioeconomic Status**

Traditional approaches to consumer choice in historic sites archaeology are regularly concerned with the association of consumer purchases, the quality and price of such purchases, and the social and economic status and/or occupation of the buyer. This is the perspective from which Suzanne M. Spencer Wood's 1987 volume entitled *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology* was compiled. All but one of the sixteen chapters, each written by different author(s), are specifically concerned with the identification and or interpretation of socioeconomic status through documents and material culture, based on the assumption that higher income households acquire and use both higher qualities and greater numbers of material goods than lower income households (Spencer-Wood 1987).

One of the dynamics of consumer behaviour assumed in such studies is presented in Steven Pendery's 1992 work, which discusses the rapidly changing innovative

preferences of upper classes in colonial Charlestown, Mass., and the resultant emulation of the upper classes by mid and lower classes. Similar overt class distinction in material culture is also present in Shackel's 1992 investigation of "modern discipline" in colonial Chesapeake. In this work, the author describes the transition from a communal pattern of family dining in medieval times to later, more individually disciplined behaviour and material culture. Shackel suggests that:

> [d]uring times of economic stress, or within a competitive system, or when the existing social order is being threatened, goods and their meanings will tend to be used to create overt distinctions between groups and standardize behaviour in order to reinforce or reestablish the social hierarchy...The acceptance and success of a modern discipline relies on the active use of goods to create and reinforce this behaviour (Shackel 1992:81).

In this case, naturalizing ideologies are employed to legitimize the elite's control over society. A 1984 corroboration between Shackel and Mark P. Leone applies this same concept to society in Annapolis, Maryland, stating that:

> a rapidly developing but insecure hierarchical society successfully used a series of innovations in ideas, manners and habits, with the associated equipment, to justify hierarchy, to sustain it, to increase the distances between the groups, and to perpetuate the results of the shift in Annapolitan society (Leone and Shackel 1984:56).

The idea of increased segmentation in competitive societies in socioeconomic crisis is developed by Shackel even further in a 1993 article, which expands the material culture involved from table settings to a wider variety of artifact types. According to this theory, artifacts that segment time and space such as clocks and compasses, and sanitary equipment, are used by upper classes in the legitimation of power within the capitalist world order.

The equation of social status with economic means, a concept inherent in the previously discussed articles and such methods as ceramic scaling indices (Miller 1991), is criticized by Cook, Yamin and McCarthy in a recent critique of current approaches in consumer choice studies (1996:51). In the opinion of these authors, the connection between social status and economic wealth is poorly evaluated before it is applied to

studies of consumer choice, and this connection may not be universally applicable. The wide use of concepts of status in archaeological studies is also criticized by Charles LeeDecker, who states that a "weakness of many archaeological studies of consumer behaviour is the preoccupation with socioeconomic status and inattention to characteristics of the individual households and other factors that influence consumer behaviour" (LeeDecker 1994:348).

A cautionary note is evident in William H. Adams' 1977 ethnoarchaeological investigation of consumption patterns at the early twentieth century village of Silcott, Washington. The thrust of the argument is that status cannot be assumed based on numbers of commercially produced goods at a site. The particular example used involves a household, the archaeological excavation of which recovered large numbers of tin cans from food products. While it may generally be assumed that the presence of expensive bought food indicates greater buying power and associated higher status, ethnohistorical work showed that instead at Silcott it was felt that:

> [p]eople who were not good managers, who ran out of food frequently, who ate from tin cans, or who borrowed a milk cow, lost their neighbours' respect long before they lost their farms...Social status in the community was based more on permanence than on affluence. Thus, there is an inverse correlation between purchase of commercially canned products and social status, and a direct correlation between home canned produce and social status (Adams 1977:55-56).

Similarly, the purchase of flowerpots seemed to be a foolish waste of money when tin cans could easily be used instead (Adams 1977:157). In the case of ceramic tableware at Silcott, Adams found that "[p]racticality seems to have been more important than prestige", as matched sets were not used (Adams 1977:76).

One of the main weaknesses of social status-oriented approaches to consumer choice in historical archaeology is articulated by Suzanne Spencer-Wood, in a volume based on such approaches. She states that:

> [a]n emergent finding from this volume is that it may only be possible to connect archaeological patterns to socioeconomic status for those sites with residents who participated in or emulated

> behaviours of socioeconomic groups forming the stratification system of the Anglo ethnic majority of the population [in eighteenth to twentieth century America] (Spencer-Wood 1987:4).

In a similar vein, Miller (1995a) assesses the myth that consumption leads to a particular kind of social being: with the assertions that consumers tend toward emulation, competition over status, are individualistic, are prone to conspicuous consumption and display, are hedonistic, and belong in a necessarily inegalitarian environment. To debunk this, Miller writes:

> [w]hat these six assertions have in common is that they confuse the characterisation of *a particular consumer society* with an assumed characterisation of the intrinsic nature of consumption itself (Miller 1995a:27) [emphasis added].

According to Miller, if the interest were focused on contemporary Norway instead of the United States, the following different view of the 'consumer society' would be gained:

> mass consumption is highly normative and is clearly concerned to avoid status competition at all costs in, for example, the interior decoration of the home. Consumption is therefore opposed to individualism but largely concerned with community approbation and remains at a generalised level rather than permitting any form of individualistic conspicuous consumption. Consumption therefore becomes an instrument of relatively rigid egalitarian morality (Miller 1995a:27).

Both Spencer-Wood and Miller imply that at sites occupied by non-Anglo residents, different rules of consumption and its connection to social relations apply. Similarly, caution must be used in investigating Anglo sites from different geographical or social regions.

Although their applicability to non-Anglo situations is limited, there is a useful common thread in many of the studies discussed above; the importance of the consideration of context and meaning when studying consumer goods. This is an important concept in both the works to be discussed next, and in the present thesis. The importance of cultural context, and active agency of the consumer in attributing meaning

to objects, are emphasized in Diana Di Zerega Wall's "Sacred Dinners and Secular Teas: Constructing Domesticity in Mid-19th-Century New York"(Wall 1991). Wall's article serves as a useful bridge between status-oriented articles, and those which focus more on meaning within a specific cultural context. She examines the remains from two urban households that are known through documentation to be of different socioeconomic statuses - one is upper-middle and the other is lower-middle class. Within Wall's approach, however, "goods are regarded as texts that are open to multiple readings. Consumers actively decode these texts and thereby help to 'produce' them in the act of their appropriation" (Wall 1991:69). Within the context of the Anglo-society members under study, Wall discusses not only the quality of the ceramics recovered from the two assemblages, but also considers the meaning of the styles present. It is suggested that the 'gothic' style dishes present in the meal-related tableware of both households reflects that the women of the households "equated private family meals (with both dishes and furnishings displayed in the Gothic style) with the sanctity and community of Gothic churches and contrasted them to the more competitive arena of the capitalist marketplace"(Wall 1991:79). Conversely, the more highly decorated teawares used by the upper class family represented participation in more competitive displays intended for guests at tea (Wall 1991:79). An excellent description of the venue in which this competition most frequently took place, the late Victorian dinner party, is provided by Robert Jameson (1987). Within his detailed account of the mannerisms that were developed and played out within the homes of the middle classes of the late nineteenth century, Jameson discusses the development of the associated material culture, and very importantly, the social context which led to the development and practice of the rules of etiquette of the day. What becomes evident in this article is not only the complexity of the structures of social hierarchy and emulation, but also that of the cultural context in which these structures were built.

While competition and emulation through display of certain categories of material goods may not be applicable to the situation of the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, or many other immigrant groups, what the previously discussed studies

emphasize is the importance of considering the cultural context of any site in the interpretation of its material remains. This is a necessary foundation in building an approach through which to view and make sense of remains from historic archaeological sites.

4.1.2 **Rethinking Consumer Choice and the Language of Goods**

Leslie C. Stewart-Abernathy reports on archaeological work done at the Moser Farmstead site, located in northwest Arkansas and occupied by a series of families between 1875 and 1919 (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:1). Stewart-Abernathy remarks that:

> the initial oral history collected by project archaeologists suggested that the farmstead had been the center of a traditional Ozark farm family with the familiar and archetypically traditional, self-sufficient subsistence base and ties to local institutions, neighbors, and kin that reproduced the small community (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:104).

When addressing the material culture recovered from the archaeological excavations, Stewart-Abernathy writes that researchers found complex the "contrast between the presence of obvious industrial goods in the ground and the simultaneous presence in the informant accounts of a traditional way of life" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:111). Two structuralist orders are designed to explain the integration of mass-produced goods into the material culture of the farmstead: the Agrarian and the Industrial. The former contains goods which support traditional behaviours or activities in Ozark life, while the latter contains those materials which require the adoption of new behaviours or practices in order to accommodate previously foreign goods.

This discussion begins with Stewart-Abernathy's interpretation of matched tableware sets within the "Industrial Order" of early twentieth-century Ozark life, as:

> [m]atching sets of ceramics, glassware, and cutlery can serve as a channel for transmitting the importance of uniformity. This can be a significant mechanism for social control and integration when societies become too complex to be held together by face-to-face interaction and joint participation in sacred and secular rituals (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:117).

Implicit in this statement is the assumption that the Moser residents understood the meaning carried by matched tableware sets. As discussed earlier, investigation of the individualistic ideals associated with place settings is discussed by Leone and Shackel (1984:49), Paul Shackel (1992), and others. In addition, Schlereth's look at the increase in consumer activity in rural areas attributes part of the rise in purchases to the desire of rural farm residents to own and display the 'accessories' of middle class life (Schlereth 1989:346). Within all of these discussions is the underlying assumption that the meaning associated with goods is uniformly understood and accepted by all parties involved.

In his 1988 work *Culture and Consumption*, Grant McCracken addresses what he refers to as "displaced meaning" in cultures. He states that the "gap between the 'real' and the 'ideal' in social life is one of the most pressing problems a culture must deal with" (McCracken1988:105). One strategy he suggests that people use is to displace the ideal situation in time or place. This involves placing the ideal into a 'golden age' in the past, or a glorious future yet to arrive, or alternately placing the ideal in some distant location in space. Although McCracken's concept of "Displaced Meaning" (1988) is interesting in theory and applicable in general to the Doukhobors' philosophy, as will be presented in the discussion of ethnicity, its application to the archaeological situation presents some difficulties. McCracken's argument begins to break down when he states that:

> objects are unlike language insofar as they bear a 'motivated' and 'non-arbitrary' relationship to the things they signify...consumer objects allow us to glimpse the basis of their signification. They display the principles according to which they were constituted. They come appended with a record of the cultural co-ordinates according to which they and the concepts they signify were formed (McCracken 1988:133).

This statement implies that the meaning of goods to the societies that produce and acquire them is made clear simply by their physical presence, a condition which is not true when the producer speaks a different language of consumption than the consumer. According to Susan L. Henry, "products are complex stimuli, possessing attributes and

symbolic character that is more than its physical properties - people buy things for what they do and what they mean"(Henry 1991:6), and products mean different things to different people.

A well-stated argument offered by Diane Zimmerman Umble regarding the Amish and telecommunications technology applies here. She writes that "historical and cultural orientations shape the meaning of the telephone for particular social groups. The telephone has little universal meaning apart from that which is constructed or negotiated by those social groups who make use of it" (Umble 1992:83). This statement can be applied not only to the telephone, but to any mass produced good that is made available to a wide range of social and ethnic groups of consumers.

The pivotal point that is to be made here is stated well by Cook, Yaman, and McCarthy, who write that "[o]bjects can become significant elements in maintaining social relations. Their meanings are not inherent but rather are ascribed, and considerable differences may exist between the public meanings of material established through advertising and the private meanings of things ascribed by individuals" (Cook et. al. 1996:54). Similarly, considerable differences can be expected to exist between the producer's and consumer's ascribed meanings when these individuals are from different ethnic backgrounds, and do not share a common native language.

Within the context of the Anglo-ethnic consumer world, goods tend to bear certain meanings that are held in common by many consumers. One example frequently used in archaeological reports is the concept of the ceramic tableware set, and its utility in both segmenting the dining practice and representing individualism, segmentation, and the Victorian social order (see previous examples and Little 1997:227). Although the practical limitations placed on dining are visible in the physical characteristics of the set, the larger social significance of this activity cannot be understood without a clear knowledge of the social context of the ceramics' purchase and use. In the case of immigrants from numerous non-Anglo social backgrounds, the set can be purchased without the associated meaning. Further, the expense of the complete set may not seem worthwhile to those who do not view it as a social tool, and consumers may opt for less

expensive open stock. Doukhobors did not speak the same consumer language as the manufacturers and distributors of the goods. In many cases, meanings associated with objects are semi-arbitrary, and therefore new meanings can be associated with objects when they are acquired and used in different social contexts.

As Deetz states regarding the analysis and interpretation of artifacts from the Afro-American-inhabited Parting Ways site:

> the Parting Ways site does not reflect the changes we have suggested for Anglo-American culture change, nor should it. Yet in its not fitting this pattern, it reinforces it, since it serves to draw a line beyond which explanation cannot and should not proceed. It tells us that such patterns are applicable only to the remains of a single cultural tradition, and once outside the tradition, other rules apply... because the artifacts themselves were so familiar to us, the essential differences were disguised behind them, and only when a more basic consideration of different perceptions of the world was made did the picture come into focus (Deetz 1977:153).

With respect to the theory that consumption in the twentieth century caused global homogenization through global 'brands' such as Coca-Cola, Miller states that recently "anthropological research has also shown that identical goods may relate to quite different issues in varied local contexts" (Miller 1995a:21). This statement stresses the difficulty of the task at hand. At sites where residents acquired goods from commercial sources, where traditional craft production declined or crafts are not preserved archaeologically, the same or similar artifacts may be present at a site occupied by an upper middle-class Victorian family, and a rural, agrarian family of Icelandic immigrants. Although both families used enamelware tea kettles, ironstone dishes, some porcelain pieces, and other household sundries, the meaning of the artifacts within the social contexts might be very different.

4.1.3 **Consumption and Meaning**

According to Daniel Miller (1995a:31):

> one of the main imperatives behind much modern consumption... is an attempt by people to extract their own humanity through the use of consumption as the creation of a specificity, which is held to negate the generality and alienatory scale of the institutions from which they receive goods and services (Miller 1995a:31).

This practice, the extraction of humanity through integration of consumer goods produced at distant locations into one's home activities, is of great interest. Meanings are not rigid, and while they differ between social, economic, and ethnic groups they may also differ within these groups depending on historical circumstances. In consumer behaviour studies based on the idea of socioeconomic status meaning is not neglected, however, the meanings assigned to goods are seen as relatively uniform and quantifiable.

Cook, Yaman, and McCarthy write in a recent critique of approaches to consumer studies in archaeology that:

> [r]egardless of whether or not they are susceptible to *explanation*, cultural phenomena are meaning-centered and, as such, they call for *understanding* and ultimately *interpretation*. Although quantitative approaches and modeling can undoubtedly contribute to understanding consumption, there appears to be an empty space at the very heart of consumer behaviour studies. This is a direct result of most of its (published) practitioners' apparent unwillingness to directly confront issues of agency; where do decisions on consumption originate? Whatever influences bear on those decisions, they originate with individual actors, who are in most cases conscious of, and in control of, their own intentions and motives (Cook et. al. 1996:52).

This statement is made in response to those who approach consumer studies with the desire to model, measure and explain (such as LeeDecker 1991, Holt 1991, Henry 1991).

The basis of a meaning-centred approach to material culture again involves the consideration of context, but focuses on more than economic value of artifacts. Although long, the following excerpt from Margaret Purser's 1992 examination of consumption in Paradise Valley, Nevada, states the issue clearly:

> [d]uring the 19th century, the technological innovations of industrialization, and the profound social and economic reorganization of industrial capitalism, forced an ever greater distance between fundamental material processes like production and consumption. This institutional as well as physical distance increasingly strained the traditional meanings of all forms of material culture, and disarticulated older channels of communication that earlier goods, objects, and materials had served to create. In the process the ways that consumption practices communicated were changed. Furthermore, these changes were not a monolithic, unchallenged, involuntary response to changing production practices. Instead, the new consumption practices provided grounds for an active, multi-constructed, highly contested discourse through which people struggled to redefine and gain control of new relationships between social and material life in an industrialized, capitalist world (Purser 1992:107).

Although Purser is still concerned with the way in which the elite used material culture to construct and maintain social hierarchies, clearly there is more depth and complexity to such arguments than who could afford to buy what to make themselves appear more important.

As discussed previously, one article that was pivotal to the building of theory through which to approach the remains at Kirilovka is written by Leslie C. Stewart-Abernathy, and concerns the use of industrially produced goods by agricultural residents of the Ozarks. The focus of Stewart-Abernathy's work is to "investigate how people whose purchases were made within industrially-based production created meaningful assemblages through selection, acquisition, and use of particular items" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:101). Important in Stewart-Abernathy's consideration, and also to the present research, is the question of how to consider the meaningful construction of past people's worlds when their material culture was itself manufactured at a place, both in space and in mind, distant from the contexts of use and abandonment. As with the village of Kirilovka and Doukhobors in general, the oral and written history of the Ozark people stresses a sense of small community self-sufficiency (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:104). The presence of mass manufactured commercial goods at these archaeological sites necessitates the rethinking of this ideal within the context of the

society under investigation.

Imported goods at the Ozark farmstead included goods common at most late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeological sites, such as ceramics, glassware, bottle glass, shoes, textiles, and other domestic, structural, and work related objects from twenty six manufacturers in different parts of the world (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:112). The same kinds of products were found at Kirilovka. What sets apart assemblages constructed from the same material 'building blocks', though, is how the site residents' own value systems guided choices in the acquisition and use of material objects. Stewart-Abernathy states that "the criteria used for selection may have less to do with overt practicality or price than with culturally determined boundaries of acceptability" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:113).

One of the larger theoretical constructs used by Stewart-Abernathy in this discussion is the concept of world view, which "assumes the ordering of many aspects of cultural meaning by an overarching set of values. Structural oppositions provide a schema useful in an analytical search for expressions of world view and grasping different manifestations of a particular world view" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:113). Based on this structuralist concept, two "orders" present in Ozark society, as viewed through material culture, are introduced by Stewart-Abernathy. These consist of the Agrarian Ozark order, in which industrial goods were used to perpetuate activities such as self-sufficiency in food production, clothing manufacture, and cultural landscape construction. Artifacts such as canning jars, buttons and bolts of cloth, and bought cook stoves function within this order. Stewart-Abernathy states that "[n]ails, lumber, hammers, saws, and hardware came from mills and factories, but were used at the farmstead to build structures such as the house, barn, and wagon shed, whose form and function replicated the vernacular houses and outbuildings of neighbors" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:115). Similarly, Purser examines the same phenomena with the example of coffins in Paradise Valley, Nevada: "[e]arly valley residents did not have the materials on hand to build a coffin, so they had to buy things like sawn lumber, hinges, or black bunting ready-made from the local storekeeper. But the coffin itself was a local

product, assembled and appointed by local tradespeople, and its use was embedded in the social behaviour of a community that included donating ice and ringing church bells" (Purser 1992:111).

The second order present in the Ozark farm community is called the "Industrial Order" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:115), in which the goods acquired and used produced and perpetuated a world view founded in the consumer society outside of the Ozark community. Dualism of artifacts is shown in Stewart-Abernathy's assignment of canning jars to this order, also. Although the jars helped maintain the Agrarian order through preservation of locally produced foods, they also represent the adoption of a new technology, and a dependence on outside sources for the necessary canning paraphernalia. Further, the use of patent medicines at the site is thought to signify the decline of traditional health care practitioners (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:118).

In buying goods from local and distant retailers, Stewart-Abernathy states that "far from being anonymous buyers of anonymous goods, rural farm families actively worked to fit their purchases into their own cultural reality and moral order. As they did so, they also transformed the society of which they were members" (Stewart-Abernathy 1992:102). This statement places active agency both in the buyers of goods, but also into the goods themselves. The reflective and reflexive natures of material culture come into play here, and place it into a post-processual framework as described by Shackel and Little, who state that the "focus of these approaches on historical and socio-cultural contexts is particularly important as archaeologists seek to recreate and interpret human behaviour *and* intention. Understanding the activeness of material culture as it is used by people is essential for such interpretation" (Shackel and Little 1992:7). This active role of material culture is present also in Purser's work, when she states that "Paradise residents made the intrusive new goods, materials, styles, or technologies make sense by grounding them in the familiar setting of a locally created and controlled built environment...In the process, the objects themselves unavoidably transformed that built environment, changing how it worked, and how it made sense" (Purser 1992:113).

If social and cultural context is vital to understanding the meaning of material

culture, from where was the guidance for attribution of meaning found by the site's initial residents? In her discussion of the informal sources of consumer information and influence, Susan L. Henry introduces the following concept of the "opinion leader":

> 'Opinion leaders' are people who, because of their status or role in society, exert personal influence on the actions or attitudes of other consumers, especially in the acceptance of new products.... Recent research indicates that opinion leaders are characterized by higher - but not too much higher - social status than those influenced, greater social participation - but they are not necessarily the formal leaders, an orientation beyond their own communities, and early acceptance of new products. They also tend to be more educated and more gregarious and deviate less from group norms than the average group member (Henry 1991:6-7).

According to this description, Peter Verigin served as the ideal opinion leader in Doukhobor society, while also being an official political and spiritual leader. Historically reported non-compliance with the wishes expressed by Verigin as the opinion leader indicates that at the household and personal level, internal influences also informed consumer choices, and in some cases to a greater degree than the opinion leader. Another source of consumer influence working among the Doukhobors is the "reference group". As defined by Henry *"[r]eference groups* are those groups which 'have more meaning for, or exert a greater level of influence on, an individual" (Henry 1991:8-9). In this case, the reference group may be the household, the village or the Doukhobor community as a whole. This group is considered to be a point of reference in determining the judgements, beliefs, and behaviour of individuals (Henry 1991:8-9).

4.1.4 **Consumer Choice and Ethnic Diversity**

The purpose of the foregoing discussion is to demonstrate two basic concepts derived from examination of consumer choice studies in historical archaeology. The first is the applicability of studies of consumer choice in interpreting how the primacy of mass produced goods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries changed people's material culture, thereby influencing their culture, and how people structured the meanings of consumer goods to fit them into their own world view. The second

concept is that many consumer choice studies published to date deny the complexity of the issue of consumption and the diversity of populations in both rural and urban North America through the historic period. A model of behaviour was successfully built only for the Anglo-American population. Further modeling may not even be possible for other groups within North American populations as the importance of understanding specific historical context is essential to the interpretation of the meaning of mass produced goods within any assemblage. What is the solution then? For the time being, it is to approach each site as an individual entity, and to interpret the material culture with reference to that site's specific historical placement at the local, national, and international level. Whether or not the interpretations from individual sites may someday fit into a larger scheme, such as that of competition and emulation among Anglo-Victorian populations, remains to be seen. Further, this kind of generalization may not be a desirable goal.

4.2 *Ethnicity and Archaeology*

4.2.1 **What Is an Ethnic Group?**

In defining ethnicity and its manifestation in material culture, Stephen Shennan (1989:14) states that ethnicity "should refer to self-conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based on a specific locality or origin" (See also Jones 1997:viii). An ethnic group is defined by McGuire as "an ascriptive and exclusive group that classifies a person in terms of his most basic identity, determined by his/her origin and background" (McGuire 1983:193). Staski provides a similar definition, with the added function that ethnicity "allows members to confine primary relationships to others within this subculture" (Staski 1990:122).

The importance of an emic, rather than etic perspective in defining and describing ethnicity is stressed by Spicer's 1971 work, as described by Kelly and Kelly (1980:134). Spicer "suggested that we look for symbols by which any group may identify itself or use as a contrast to outwardly imposed identity" (Kelly and Kelly 1980:134). Similarly, in introducing Barth's concept of boundary maintenance, Jones

writes that "[i]n keeping with this emphasis on the social dimensions of ethnicity he [Barth] argued that ethnic groups should be defined on the basis of the actors' own categorization of themselves and others"(Jones 1997:59-60).

Boundaries are maintained by ethnic groups in order to define and perpetuate the groups cohesiveness and uniqueness (Kelly and Kelly 1980:134) . These boundaries may take the form of symbols, employed by the group to signify group membership and exclusiveness, that can be ideational, behavioural, or material (McGuire1983:193). McGuire states that:

> the nature and persistence of ethnic groups depend on the existence of an ethnic boundary (Barth 1969:144) which ethnic groups maintain through the manipulation and display of symbols (Spicer 1971:796). What is important to the maintenance of such boundaries is not the totality of cultural traits contained by them but those traits that the groups utilize as symbols of their identity separate from other groups (McGuire 1982:160).

Following from this idea of boundary maintenance McGuire's definition of ethnicity is instrumentalist in form, closely tied to the desire of groups to gain political or economic advantage over others. He states that competition is central to the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, as differential power between groups will determine the inter-ethnic relationships (McGuire 1982:170). Economically or politically disadvantaged groups are thought to employ ethnicity in order to facilitate their aspirations. McGuire states that by "maintaining a wide social gulf, that is a high degree of boundary maintenance, the weaker group creates a smaller stage upon which individuals can compete for power, prestige, and wealth" (McGuire 1982:171). The assumed opportunism of groups and individuals in instrumentalist considerations of ethnicity are apparent in Staski's statement that "ascriptive and exclusive qualities of ethnic groups are strictly symbolic, however, and seldom adhered to in reality. Individuals are thus provided with opportunities to change the group with which they are identified. They can consciously manipulate the symbols of ethnicity, and when successful, can use these symbols to claim or reject ethnic group membership" (Staski 1990:123).

Other concepts of ethnicity approach common identity more as a result of shared experience, history, and practice than an intentionally assumed identity and cohesiveness for the purpose of political or economic gain. The structure and origin of ethnicity within groups is approached by Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon (1992) using Bourdieu's concept of "*habitus*", a framework for ideological, social, and material action which "forms a subliminal conceptual order that produces regular practices and representations without constant reference to overt rules or conscious rationalizations" (Burley et al. 1992:6).

One of the main strengths of the concept of ethnicity as *habitus* is that the theory of *habitus* allows for change to occur within different historical contexts. Within this framework, "*[h]abitus* is moulded by common experience in history and, ingrained within the *habitus*, these experiences serve to condition contemporary action in ways that may appear illogical. Indeed, to understand many actions, one must fully comprehend long term historical processes through which the *habitus* has been formed" (Burley et. al. 1992:7). Similarly, Jones states that "[a]lthough it has been argued that ethnic consciousness is, in part, based on the recognition of commonalities of practice and historical experience, it is also a product of the conditions prevailing in particular social and historical contexts" (Jones 1997:123). Jones discusses Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* as involving 'structured structures' and 'structuring structures' and in much more complex language explains the same concepts as Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon (1992) regarding the contextually changing nature of the *habitus*.

The concept of *habitus* is also explored by Stephen Shennan in a review of contemporary theories of the origin of ethnicity in archaeology. He quotes Bentley's 1987 application of the *habitus* theory in stating that "the conscious sensations of affinity involved in membership of an ethnic group arise from a 'subliminal awareness of objective commonalities in practice', that is to say, in the terms of Bourdieu (1977), whom Bentley takes as the basis of his theoretical position, from similarities in the *habitus*" (Shennan 1989:15). G. Carter Bentley's article entitled "Ethnicity and Practice" (1987) uses Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* as a starting point for a discussion of individual motivations and structures of domination within ethnic groups.

According to the theory of the *habitus*, ethnicity is neither passively reflected nor actively, instrumentally implemented for political gain, "[r]ather, drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice, it can be argued that the intersubjective construction of ethnic identity is grounded in the shared, subliminal dispositions of the *habitus* which shape, and are shaped by, objective commonalities of practice" (Jones 1997:90).

Habitus is useful as an explanatory structure, although in the previous discussions it may be oversimplified in its equation with ethnicity. Jones' discussion of the *habitus* includes the belief that "[e]thnicity is not a direct reflection of the *habitus*, or of culture. The construction of ethnicity, and the objectification of cultural difference that this entails, is a product of the intersection of people's habitual dispositions with the concrete social conditions characterizing any given historical situation" (Jones 1997:90) . This separation of the constructed identity of ethnicity from the culture, or *habitus*, of a people is expressed clearly in Kobylinski's 1989 study of continuity and change in the Polish lands in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. He writes that "we should therefore distinguish three aspects of continuity in a sociocultural system, and consider their archaeological visibility. They are settlement (population) continuity, cultural (stylistic) continuity and ethnic (consciousness) continuity" (Kobylinski1989:305). The latter continuity is reportedly not visible in the archaeological record, although it can be inferred by continuity in the other areas. *Habitus* may be considered to be present in all three levels. Similarly, all three levels inform each other in change. Kobylinsky's argument that ethnic continuity is invisible archaeologically must be argued against here, as a distinction between culture and ethnicity, as he suggests, is impossible. Culture is inevitably informed by ethnicity, and therefore the material, stylistic traits of culture will be shaped in part by ethnic standards.

The complexity of the structures born out of practice and historical contingency is described by Miller in a discussion of the economic activity of the 'housewife' in the modern consumer milieu of almost unlimited variety of consumable goods. He states that:

It is increasingly in the array of commodities as brought to life in the

> consumption practices of the household that moral, cosmological and ideological objectifications are constructed to create the images by which we understand who we have been, who we are, and who we might or should be in the future. It is the sheer scale of the object world which assists in making it increasingly possible for these to be merely partial connections, bits and pieces of often contradictory '*habiti*' rather than the more systemic *habitus* of traditional socialisation analysed by Bourdieu (1977) (Miller 1995a:35).

Beaudry's concept of culture closely agrees with Miller's concept of multiple *habiti*, as she writes "[t]he practice of historical anthropology is more complicated if we employ a definition of culture as a historically situated, fluid, often contested, and only partially integrated mosaic of narratives, images, and practices, recognizing that there may be alternative and competing histories and world views" (Beaudry 1995:3). This statement is extremely useful in developing a more applicable concept of ethnicity and the *habitus*, for both instrumentalist and *habitus* based concepts of behaviour and identity must be considered in an understanding of Doukhobor culture.

4.2.2 **Ethnicity in Archaeology**

The usefulness of historical archaeology in the study of ethnicity is in the contribution it can make to our understanding of ethnicity as reflected in the mundane, day-to-day activities of site residents (McGuire 1982:161-2), who may be poorly, incompletely, or incorrectly identified and described in documentary records. The ability of archaeologists to work with time depth allows for the examination of ethnicity not as a static idea, but as a changing part of social life.

Some approaches to ethnic identification rely on the observation of 'ethnic markers', artifacts or styles used by specific ethnic groups which indicate their presence at a site. This method of identification is complicated by many factors. First, such markers tend to be very rare, and, as the archaeological record is by nature an incomplete representation of the total material culture assemblage utilized by any given group, the chances of finding ethnic marker artifacts at sites is relatively small. In addition, as Kobylinski states:

> the identification of ethnic idioms and ethnic correlates in the archaeological evidence is subjective, and the territoriality of some artefacts and archaeologically visible forms of social behaviour is not necessarily related to the ethnic consciousness of the population studied. Most probably, those behavioural correlates which are not determined by a primarily techno-utilitarian function should be considered as ethnospecific; however, even in this case we cannot be sure of their meaning because the identification of the primary function of a given artifact type is a projection of our image of past reality (Kobylinski:1989:305).

A situation specifically applicable to the remains from Kirilovka is articulated by Staski: "[a] complicating factor involves the possibility that Euro-American ethnic diversity remained great while the more obvious material indicators of that diversity disappeared". This might have been at work "during the 19th and early 20th centuries, as many European immigrants entered the industrial mainstream while maintaining their ethnic identities, and thus preserving the pluralism of the United States" (Staski 1990:126; see also Burley et. al. 1992:4). The replacement of folk industries with industrially produced commercial goods impacts the information present in the archaeological record perhaps more than the use of these goods impacted the ethnicity, or identity, of the different ethnic populations whose remains we study.

Within the archaeological record, McGuire states ethnic boundary maintenance may be recognized as specific material symbols, or as "the material correlates of ideological and behavioural symbols of ethnic groups" (McGuire 1983:194). It is material of the latter type that will be more commonly found in the archaeological record, as McGuire states that the:

> material correlates of ethnically specific ideologies and especially behaviours are more likely to be represented in the archaeological record than are material symbols of ethnicity. These kinds of traits would be manifested by different occurrence of items in rubbish as a result of ethnic consumption preferences (McGuire 1983:194).

Ethnicity, then, provides structure which patterns the formation of archaeological assemblages by informing consumer choices made by site residents. In examining ethnicity it is important not only to look for iconographic markers of ethnicity, which are

often rare, but to also consider the patterns present in the larger assemblage. The consideration of assemblage variability and composition with respect to ethnic behaviour allows for the examination of ethnic groups whose material culture consists largely of industrially produced goods. Spatial distribution of behaviour is also considered by Burley et al. to be structured according to *habitus*, therefore showing changes reflective of the developing history of a group (Burley et al 1992:10). Spatial analyses, however, will not be discussed here as the Kirilovka site sample is inappropriate for such investigations.

Similar to Burley et al's suggestions, Jones writes that "the self-conscious expression of ethnicity through material culture is linked to the structural dispositions of the *habitus*, which infuse all aspects of the cultural practices and social relations characterizing a particular way of life" (Jones 1997:120). If *habiti*, then, are to be considered some of the major structuring principles in ethnicity, then the implications of the adaptable, contextual nature of these structures to archaeology must be a concern. Jones writes that:

> the relationship between material culture styles and the expression of ethnicity may be constantly shifting according to time and place. Material styles which in some social and historic contexts are actively taken up in the signification and negotiation of ethnicity may, in other contexts, only form part of the meaningful environment in which ethnicity is generated (Jones 1997:122).

The implication of this contextualism to the study of archaeology is further described by Jones in the same volume:

> The multidimensional nature of ethnicity may result in a complex pattern of overlapping material-culture distributions relating to the repeated realization and transformation of ethnicity in different social contexts, rather than a discrete monolithic cultural entity. Patterns in the production and consumption of material culture involved in the communication of the 'same' ethnic identity may vary qualitatively as well as quantitatively in different contexts. Furthermore, items of material culture that are widely distributed and used in a variety of social and historical contexts may be curated and consumed in different ways and become implicated in the generation and signification of a variety of expressions of ethnicity (Jones 1997:124).

It is evident in such statements that an understanding of the relationship of archaeological patterning to the ethnic identity of site residents requires a knowledge of both the historical construction of the particular ethnic identity, and the specific historical context of the site and its production.

4.2.3 **Ethnicity and Cross Cutting Dimensions**

Ethnicity, social status, and economic ability of site residents work together to produce patterns in the material record of an archaeological site. That ethnicity is not necessarily the lowest common denominator is demonstrated by Randall H. McGuire in his examination of "Ethnic Group, Status, and Material Culture at the Rancho Punta de Agua"(McGuire 1983), in which economic status was shown to be as important, or more important than ethnicity in contributing to the material assemblage left by site residents of different ethnic origins. Interpretation of the patterns left by these "crosscutting social dimensions" (McGuire 1983:194, see also McGuire 1982:164; Staski 1990:128), therefore, requires the use of the material record in identifying as many of these variables as possible for the site residents in question.

A similar idea is expressed in Daniel Miller's introduction to a multidisciplinary review of consumer studies when he states that a "common reductionism is performed by simply privileging one of the contextualising social dimensions, that is to say that consumption is 'really' about class/gender/ethnicity, etc., or at least that it ought to be" (Miller 1995:32). Elizabeth Reitz (1986) writes about how social status and ethnicity are not the only factors influencing the make up of archaeological faunal assemblages - that also site location (rural or urban) and time of occupation must be considered. Her 1986 article focuses on differences in use of wild and domesticated species, and diversity, using sixteen sites in coastal South Carolina and Georgia from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. The results of comparisons indicated that urban residents used both a greater number and greater variety of domesticated animals for food (Reitz1986:51), urban sites included fewer wild mammals, both individuals and species (Reitz1986:54), and urban diets showed less extensive use of fish than rural diets

(Reitz1986:55). Differences are attributed to the greater availability of wild animals in rural settings, the higher frequency of butchering and availability of domestic meats in urban settings (Reitz 1986:56). Reitz does not deny the influence of socioeconomic status, but places it as subordinate to rural/urban differences in explaining assemblage composition (Reitz 1986:56).

What is apparent when looking at definitions of ethnicity, and studies of other social dimensions that influence patterning in the material record, is that the present concept of ethnicity is in some ways limiting. Ethnicity, it seems, is a broad term indicating a sense of ascribed identity, based on the similar origin or background of members of a cultural group. As is exemplified by groups such as the Doukhobors, not only is socioeconomic 'status' or activity often archaeologically indiscernible from ethnicity, but culturally these two factors are inextricably intertwined. One level of Doukhobor identity, that of the rural Russian peasant, is intimately connected with an agriculturally-based economic system based on landlord- tenant land tenure. The second, more instrumentalist identity of the Doukhobor social movement is also connected with an agricultural lifestyle, but includes the conscious rejection of material things and economic or governmental structures. While Doukhoborism is considered in its patterns of behaviour and tradition to be a kind of ethnicity, this ethnicity is inseparable from ideas of economics and political (or apolitical) orientation, and rural settlement patterns. Physical isolation, as well as language, architecture and dress, acted as boundary maintenance mechanisms bringing Doukhoborism into the category of an ethnic group. However, when such insulation and isolation were lost, Fry argues that Doukhoborism changed from a sect to a church. He states that "Doukhoborism required periodic waterings of exile and struggle to insure its vitality" (Fry 1976:409-10). The Canadian version of this 'exile' was the migration of Verigin and thousands of his followers from Saskatchewan to British Columbia, where there was a rejuvenation of communal behaviour. The Saskatchewan settlements, therefore, can be thought of as being at a point where the Doukhobors had departed from being a cohesive sect, and were a group of similar families observing the same church doctrines.

The archaeologist's task, then, should not be to try to separate the effects of ethnicity from those of other social dimensions in the material culture of a site, but to identify the relevant dimensions contributing to the self-defined identity and behavioural patterns of the site residents. Identification of the material implications of any one of these factors is possible only through comparative studies in which the other factors can be held constant - a situation which, in theory, sounds promising but in reality rarely arises.

4.3 *Consumption and Identity at Kirilovka: Archaeological Expectations*

Within the arena of consumer studies, two main points are emphasized in the above discussion. The first is that objects bring, or are given meaning as they are incorporated in to the material culture of a society. The second point is that as this symbolic character is based on more than the inherent physical properties of an artifact, it is contextually contingent and non-uniform. The application of these concepts to the case of the Doukhobors leads to the question of how mass-produced goods were incorporated into the household and personal realms, and how both the meaning of the object and the society that incorporates the object were renegotiated in the process.

Ethnicity is also discussed above, as ethnic identity is one of the major factors informing both how consumer goods are chosen, and then how they become part of daily life in a society. As was discussed above, ethnicity may concurrently be both instrumental and primordial in nature, as in the case of the Doukhobors. Further, this ethnic identity is inseparable from economic activity and status, and political orientation. Therefore, a concept of multi-layered identity broader than ethnicity must be adopted in consideration of the Doukhobors.

How, then, do we expect to observe these phenomena archaeologically at Kirilovka? First, based on historical information discussed in the previous chapter, the Doukhobors were indeed consumers of mass-produced goods, although they likely did not actively choose some varieties of goods that entered their homes. Through purchase, donation, and scavenging, different varieties of household and personal items became

part of Doukhobor daily life at Kirilovka. Therefore, the lack of complete stylistic choice in the material culture assemblage may lead to a certain stylistic arbitrariness. This will likely be most strongly reflected in ceramic tablewares, a class of artifacts that is both ubiquitous to historic sites, and subject to great stylistic diversity and significance. In ceramic tableware present at the site it is expected that unmatched patterns, representing more acquisition of individual pieces than matched sets, will be recovered. This expectation is further supported by the belief that the Doukhobors did not necessarily participate in the material dialogue of social status that involved the acquisition and display of stylistically fashionable sets of matched china, and the associated structured and segmented dining behaviour. Further, as a variety of mass produced goods were donated to poorer families in the Doukhobor villages by outside aid agencies, it is suggested that the presence of exotic fruit species, machine-made textiles and shoes, and other mass-produced necessities does not necessarily denote greater social status, nor does it even indicate greater economic wealth. The inverse may be the case as the most needy households received greater material aid in the form of food and used clothing from outside sources.

It is expected that the material culture from Kirilovka will also reflect the multi-layered nature of Doukhobor identity, including elements from both a rural agrarian *habitus* and the instrumentalist identity of Doukhoborism with its associated proscribed behaviours. I predict to observe to following four features:

1) Evidence of both household-level communalism, characteristic of the rural agrarian tradition, and village level communalism characteristic of the structure of Doukhobor society. This will include, at the household level, evidence of communal eating behaviour shown by low numbers of metal utensils and individual size serving dishes, concurrent with a relatively high number of larger cooking and serving containers. At the village level, communalism will be reflected by a great similarity in the material culture among all households at the site, as goods were likely purchased and distributed cooperatively.

2) Due to the aim of self sufficiency espoused by Doukhobor leaders, it is expected that evidence of on-site food production and preservation will be more prevalent than evidence of purchased food products such as canned and bottled goods. This will be represented archaeologically by a lack of tin cans and commercial product containers, in conjunction with larger numbers of canning jars. If faunal remains are present, there will be evidence that the animals were butchered and consumed on site, rather than that the Doukhobors were acquiring individual cuts of meat from butchers in nearby communities. In addition, traditional health care practices reportedly maintained by many Doukhobors will preclude the use of commercial medicinal preparations, therefore it is expected that the frequency of patent medicine bottles and other medicinal containers will be relatively low.

3) The dietary remains from Kirilovka will indicate a diet high in vegetable products, with a great variety of different floral remains, as was typical of the diet historically reported both in Russia and Canada. In addition, as presented above, food preparation and serving vessels will represent the consumption of soups and stews cooked in one pot, rather than meals of many courses.

4) There will be material evidence of the behavioural limitations associated with Doukhoborism including pacifism, vegetarianism, and abstention from intoxicants. This will be represented archaeologically by a lack of food related faunal remains, weapons related artifacts such as shells and gun parts, and absence of liquor and tobacco related material culture.

These four guidelines present a basic outline of expectations for the material remains from Kirilovka. It is evident in the above paragraphs that the meanings associated with different aspects of material culture were likely different for the Doukhobors than for other rural neighbours. For instance, while liquor bottles in a local Anglo household may represent celebratory or social drinking and the congregation of

local families, at the Doukhobor village the same bottles may represent deviation from proscribed religious norms and social ostracism.

While the above expectations present what may be present in a site occupied by Doukhobor villagers, it is also expected that there will be some variation from these norms. Based on historical and oral reports, there was frequent disregard for the instructions of Verigin regarding vegetarianism, abstinence from liquor and tobacco, and communalism. The prevalence of these inconsistencies, however, can not be predicted here. Part of the importance of an archaeological study such as this is to present both the expectations based on ethnohistorical information, and the deviations from these expectations present in the analyzed material remains. The following chapters present the materials recovered from Kirilovka, and evaluate the above expectations in terms of the materially reflected behaviours recognized therein.

Chapter 5
Archaeology at Kirilovka: Methods and Results

5.1 *Archaeological Investigations at Kirilovka*

The archaeological site of Kirilovka was first reported to the Department of Natural Resources - Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History Archaeological Survey on March 14, 1979 by archaeologist Ian Brace. At this time it was assigned the Borden Site Number of FcNs-1. No observation or testing of the site was undertaken until the 1996 investigation.

The Saskatchewan Department of Highways and Transportation's construction to complete the twinning of Highway 16 between Saskatoon and North Battleford began at the Kirilovka site during the week of August 19 to 23, despite warnings of the reputed presence of the heritage site (see Figure 5.1). After site remains were encountered on August 26, 1996, it was determined that mitigation excavations would be completed at Kirilovka. Western Heritage Services Inc. of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan was contracted to complete the necessary excavation. Already existing HRIA Permit 96-073 was amended to include this site, along with the three pre-contact sites on the west side of the North Saskatchewan River that were already under investigation.

As part of road construction activity, a 20 m wide swath was scraped by heavy equipment to a depth of 1 m below surface in an east-west direction across the site. To the north and south of this, topsoil was removed from two 20 m wide strips. At the time of permit amendment, it was believed that 7800 m^2 of the site had already been impacted, and that in 30% of this area (2300 $m^{2)}$, the site was completely destroyed. What remained of the site in the disturbed right of way at the time of investigation consisted only of subsurface features such as cellars, privies, and buried middens. All surface debris and architectural remains were destroyed by cultivation and the subsequent scraping of the right-of-way surface.

5.1.1 Archaeological Research Objectives at Kirilovka

The research methodology at the Kirilovka site involved two objectives. First, the preparation of a detailed site map involving all features and post holes, showing the spatial distribution of activities at the site, was to be prepared. Second, a program of subsurface testing was implemented to collect a sample of representative artifacts, and to observe profiles to determine the nature and function of the subsurface features.

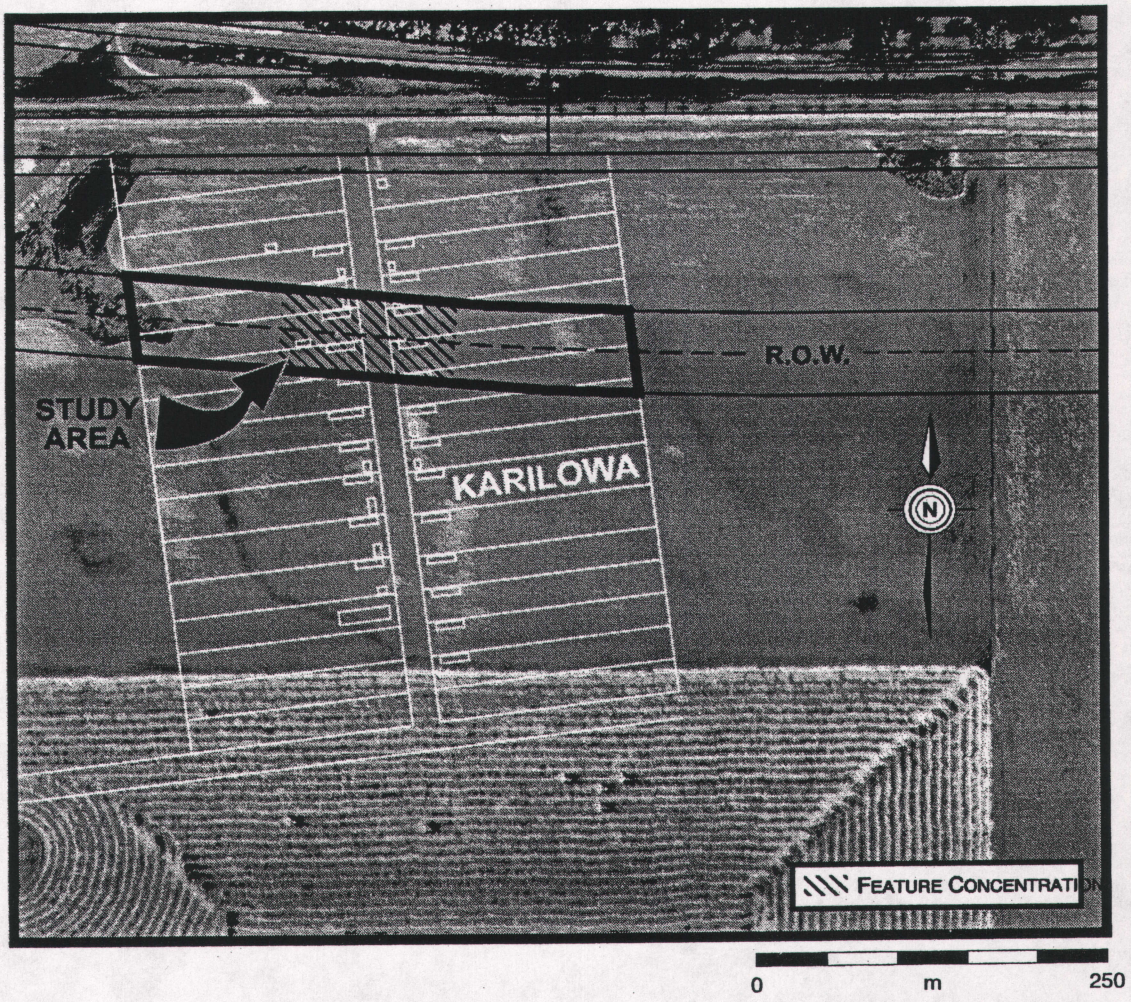


Figure 5.1: Modern air-photo of Kirilovka site location showing superimposed right-of-way and 1909 surveyors map. Karilowa is an alternate spelling for the name Kirlilovka (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS).

5.1.2 **Survey And Mapping**

A surface survey was undertaken first to determine the number and size of features present within the disturbed area, and to select features for detailed investigation (see Figure 5.2 below). Features and postholes were assigned arbitrary numbers for identification: features were assigned the letter "F" followed by a number, while post holes were assigned the letter "P" followed by a number. While the archaeological crew completed this task, a survey crew provided by the Saskatchewan Department of Highways and Transportation laid a 10 m by 10 m grid over the site in order for the archaeologists to establish horizontal provenience. A datum was arbitrarily located at the southwest corner of the site, numbered 500N 500E.

Figure 5.2: Mapping Feature 13 at Kirilovka, August 1996 (Photo by author).

Planviews were prepared of all features and postholes, to incorporate into a comprehensive site map (see Fig. 5.3). All features were measured and located within the 10 m By 10 m site grid. Mapping included the use of a total station to tie site remains to the local environment, and record locations of features, postholes, and backhoe test trenches.

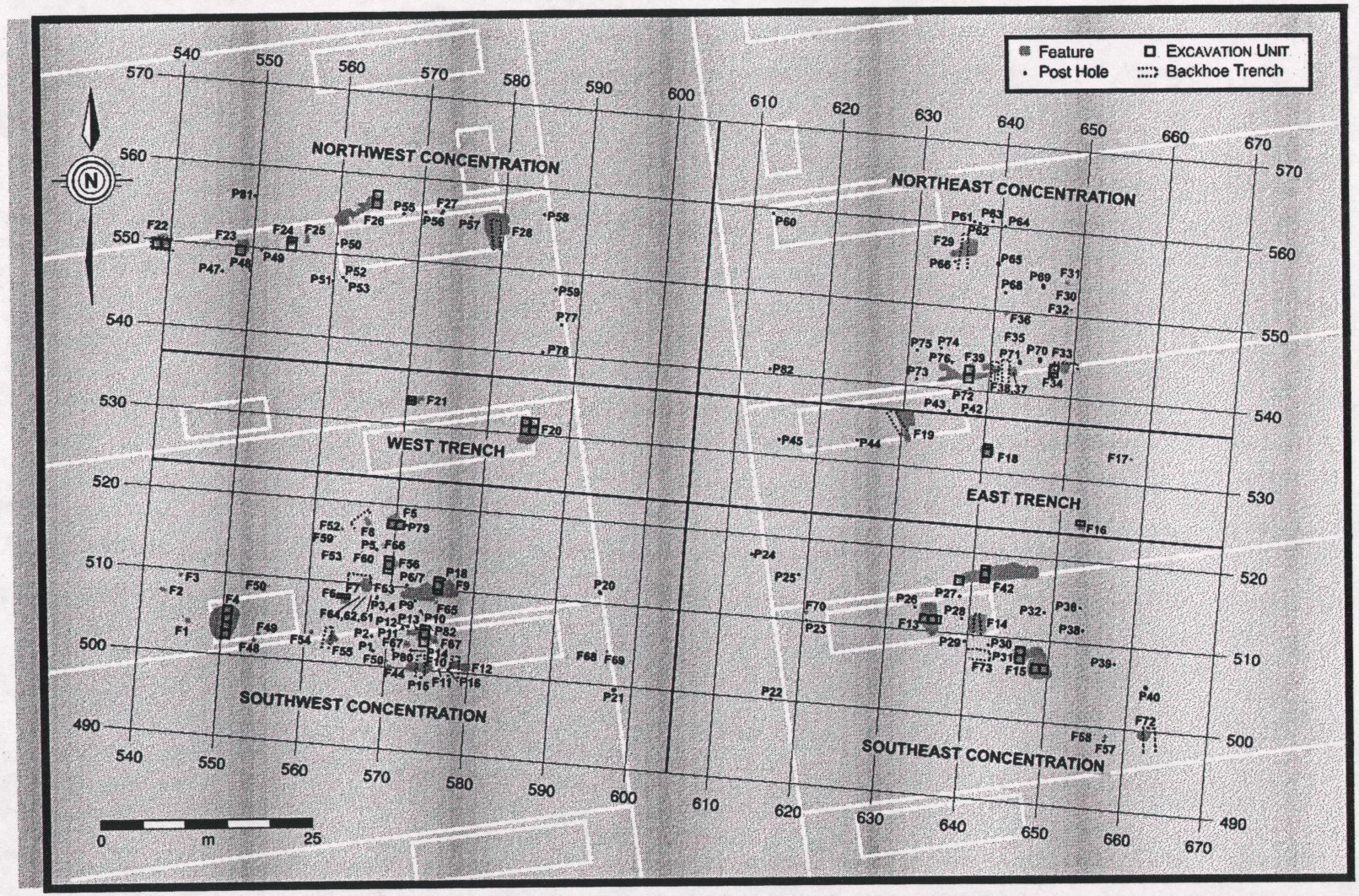


Figure 5.3: Kirilovka site map showing location of features and excavations. White lines indicate lot designations from Fairchild's 1909 survey map (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS).

5.1.2 **Feature Excavation**

The second portion of the fieldwork involved the in-depth examination of a number of larger feature types. A sample of 37.75 m^2, taken from 19 features, was excavated by shovel shaving in 20cm levels according to 1 m provenience. Level number 1 was assigned to all artifacts recovered from the surface of the right-of-way area. The first subsurface level, from 0cm-20cm below surface, was given the designation of Level 2. Excavation continued until the bottom of the subsurface feature was reached. Units were located so that excavation trenches either 1 m or 0.5 m in width bisected each feature, and profiles across the approximate midsection of the feature could be photographed and drawn. Trenches ranged in size from 0.5 m By 1 m to 1 m By 4m. All matrix from the shovel-shaved excavations was screened through 6 mm mesh.

Following the in-depth excavation of 19 features, 14 remaining features were tested by a backhoe with 63 cm wide bucket. The backhoe operator was instructed to remove fill to the bottom of the feature in 20cm levels, in a trench bisecting the feature to expose the profile. Trenches were each 2.5 m to 3.0 m in length, with an average width of 70 cm. Fill from backhoe trenches was not screened, but was raked and hand sifted to remove artifacts. One wall of each trench was then cleaned using trowels and brushes for profile drawing and photography.

Bulk matrix samples were taken from organic deposits in privies and other features. These samples were used later for flotation analysis, in order to identify seeds within cultural deposits.

5.2 *Feature Descriptions*

Four different categories of feature type were identified among the archaeological remains at Kirilovka. These will be introduced briefly here, and descriptions of individual features will be done according to spatial groupings.

5.2.1 **Privies**

Ten features and one subfeature (F39) are identified as privy, or outhouse, deposits. These features were generally close to 1 m in diameter or width, and possessed circular or rounded square planviews. The base of these features was basin shaped, and usually coated with a layer of fecal matter and seeds. Artifact concentrations were most dense within and directly above this organic layer. Although some privy features had multiple fecal layers interspersed with clay fill, all had clay fill with little cultural material in the upper layers (see Figure 5.4).

Charles LeeDecker writes that "[b]ehaviours that contribute to the process of privy filling include (1) deposition of human wastes, (2) accidental loss of objects, (3) gradual, long-term deposition of refuse directly from the household, (4) rapid deposition of large amounts of material from the household, such as major house cleaning episodes, (5) redeposition of refuse from yard midden contexts within the household property, and (6) placement of artifacts in the privy to serve as percolation fill" (1994:354). Percolation fill may be described as intentionally placed objects in the bottom of the privy which aid in the drainage of liquid wastes from the pit. Most of these processes likely contributed to the deposition of privy wastes at Kirilovka. Two of these activities, the accidental loss of objects and the placement of artifacts to serve as percolation fill, are difficult to identify in the archaeological record. The first would be indicated by the presence of complete small objects in the privy. The second is more difficult to convincingly identify, as bottles were primarily used for percolation fill. Both complete and broken bottles appear to have been disposed of in the privies, but it may be impossible to distinguish whether they were placed there simply as garbage or for the purposes of privy drainage.

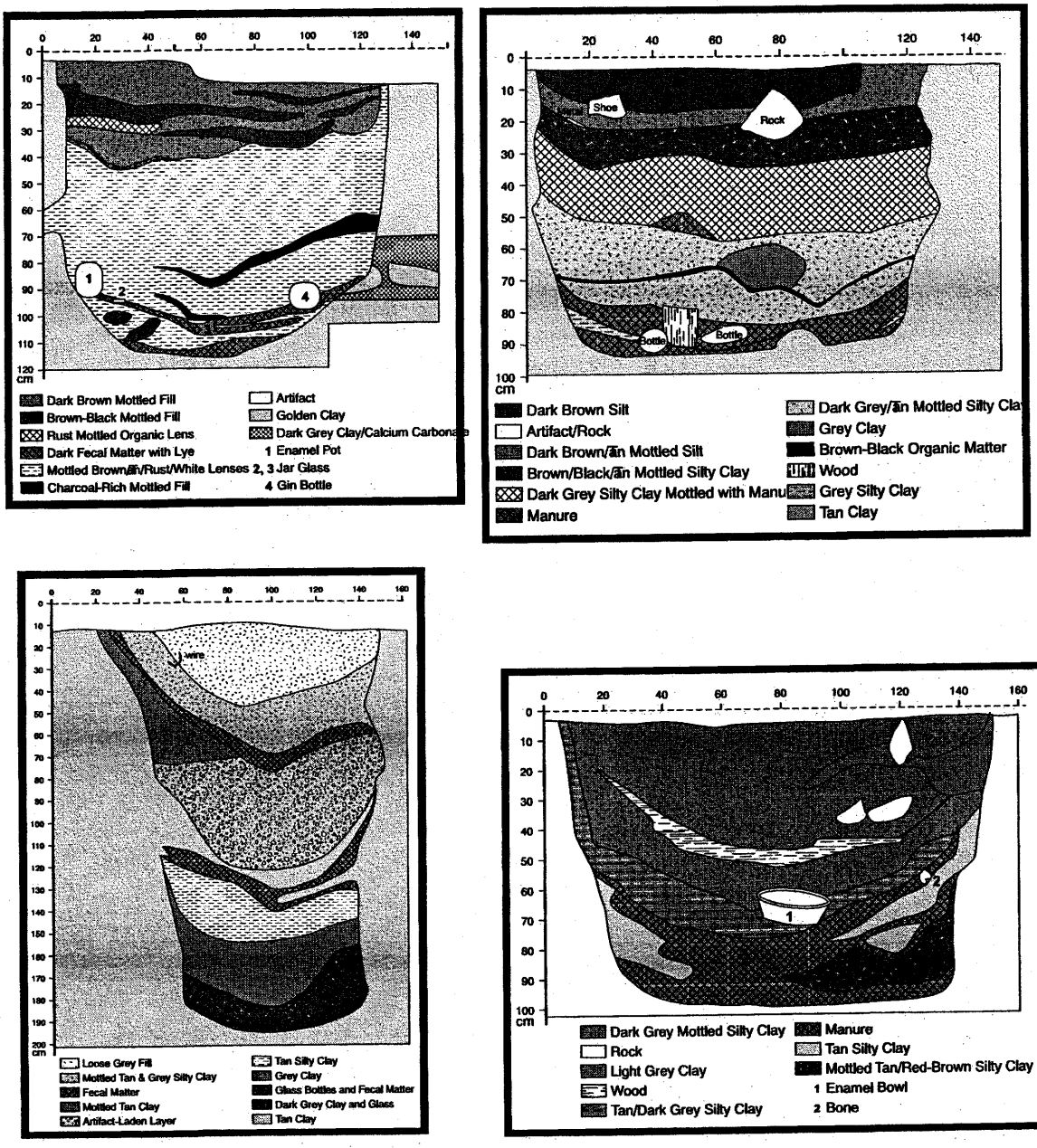


Figure 5.4: Profiles of four privy features from Kirilovka. Clockwise from top left: Feature 34, Feature 6, Feature 22, Feature 72 (Profiles by Shelley McConnell, WHS, and Stacy Kozakavich).

5.2.2 **Cellars**

Features classified as cellars were generally large, rectangular features with planview dimensions near 4m by 2m. Six features have been classified as cellars based on profiles showing vertical walls, and depths ranging from 100 - 160 cm below surface. Two of these features showed definite evidence of underground wooden support structures (F13 and F20), while the other four seem to have had dirt walls and floors. Artifact density varied between these features, as features 20, 13 and 14 contained a large number and variety of cultural materials while features 28, 29, and 67 were less rich. Cleaning activities by site inhabitants during or after the abandonment of the buildings associated with these features seems to have taken place at features 13, 20, and 28. In these features, larger materials such as boulders, and machine and stove parts, as well as non-food domestic animal remains, were recovered from upper, clay filled levels (see Figure 5.5)

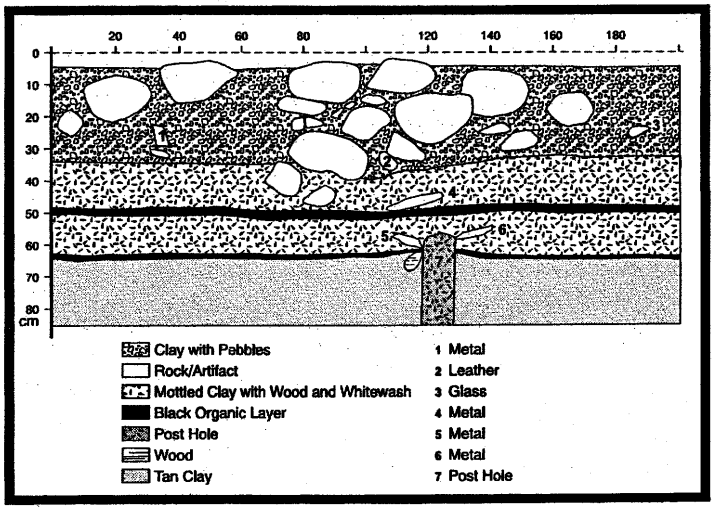
It is possible that some of these features represent not cellars, but ice-houses or the underground portion of a sunken bania building. Materials such as the heat fractured rocks found in large number in feature 20 may be interpreted as used bania stones, or structural stones from the foundation of a house that was burned.

5.2.3 **Trench/midden Features**

Five features at the Kirilovka site were identified as neither cellars nor privies, yet resembled each other closely in assemblage composition and stratigraphy. These features had elongated irregular or oval surface planviews and were roughly semi-cylindrical when considered in profile. Each profile showed numerous discrete layers of ash, charcoal and clay deposition, intermixed with small artifacts and fragments (see Figure 5.6).

The present interpretation of these deposits is that they represent clay borrow pits for building construction that later were used as middens for household waste. Visual examination of plaster fragments, still bearing whitewash, recovered during the excavation suggested that clay from the village site was used to plaster the log homes.

Tarasoff provides a description of the preparation of mud plaster for finishing the village houses: "In preparing the mortar, they dug a trench, into which they placed fine clay and water and chopped hay or straw. Then half a dozen boys or girls or



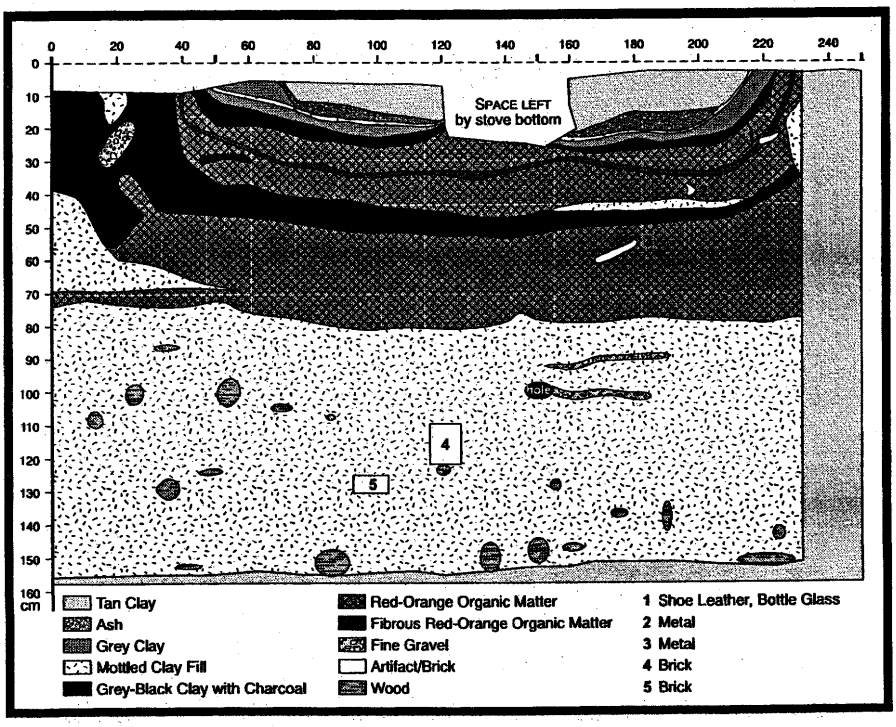
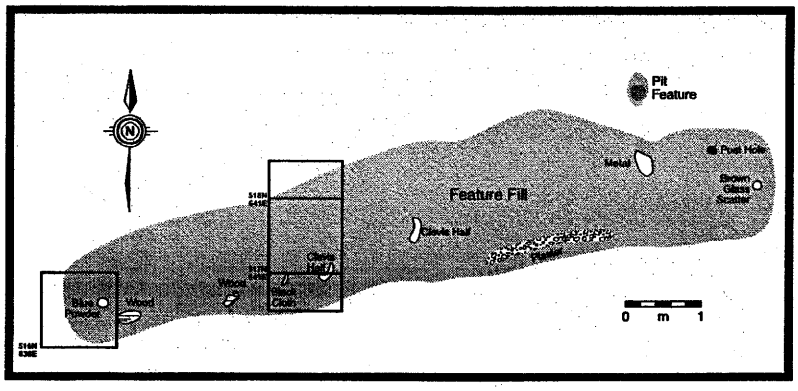


Figure 5.5: Cellar features from Kirilovka. Top: Feature 20; Bottom; Feature 13 (Profiles by Shelley McConnell, WHS and Stacy Kozakavich).

women with skirts kilted up, trod the mortar until it was as smooth as paste" (Tarasoff 1982:57). Trenches left on individual lots after building activity was completed may then have been used for the daily disposal of ash from the *peche* and/or stove, as well as household waste materials. Sam Popoff describes the process of heating the bread oven for cooking or baking. A fire was built in the oven, and allowed to burn down, then, before the food was placed inside, the ashes were scraped out and discarded (Nosteroff 1993). As with any house of the period that depended on a wood burning stove, a great deal of ash would be produced as a result of daily cooking activities, and of heating the house in cold weather.



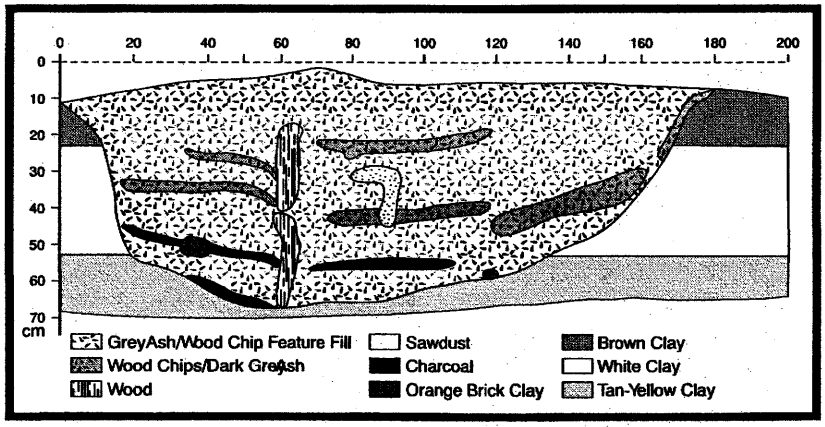


Figure 5.6: Trench feature 42 in planview (top) and profile (bottom) (Profile and planview by Shelley McConnell, WHS, and Stacy Kozakavich).

5.2.4 **Unidentified Features**

Twelve features remain enigmatic with respect to their function within the village of Kirilovka.

Features 19 and 21 were located in the 'trench' area of the right-of way, thus losing 1 m of upper level deposits, making functional classification based on form difficult. Feature 19 did produce large household and work related items, and therefore may represent a cellar, although the intersection of its horizontal extent with the north wall of the trench, combined with the disturbance of the upper layers, prevents certain classification.

Feature 4's great depth (3 m below surface), large oval planview, and thick manure deposits make it unlike any of the other large cellar features. Conversely, the shallow depth and small plan of Feature 15B also make cellar function an unlikely interpretation.

The remaining features in this category were all small (1 m or less) in diameter or width, and shallow. In addition, each produced little or no artifact material.

5.3 *Feature Descriptions by Concentration*

The unit of analysis to be used in this study is the spatial concentration of features assumed to represent the remains of the activities of individual households. Charles LeeDecker states that "[c]onsumer behaviour is an important topic in historical archaeology, and it is argued here that acquisition, use, and discard patterns must be understood at the household level. The household is a basic economic unit within which consumption occurs, and domestic consumption patterns represent a scale of analysis that is well suited to archaeological interpretation" (1994:346; see also Spencer-Wood 1987:2). As the interpretation of remains from Kirilovka is based somewhat on ideas developed in the archaeology of consumer choice, the household was deemed an appropriate unit of study.

The comparisons that will be made between household groupings from Kirilovka are based on the expectation that differences will occur among them. This difference is

predicted in Henry's statement of household assemblages that:

> The majority of the archaeological data base is generated by the household, which is the basic unit of analysis (Deetz 1982:717). A household's behavior is idiosyncratic, however, and its site assemblage reflects that idiosyncracy. There is no way of knowing how well any household serves as a typical example of any group, *unless* the parameters, norms, symbols of membership, and lifestyles of a group have been clearly defined in terms of data that archaeology and documents can provide. In order to investigate and understand consumer behavior, it is necessary to aggregate data from individual households - use a large sample rather than a sample of one (Henry 1991:11-12).

With the exception of four features, the features present at Kirilovka have been divided into four groupings based on spatial proximity and location in relation to Fairchild's 1909 survey map. Within each, there is at least one cellar, one trench/midden feature, one or more privies, and other miscellaneous features.

A linear band running approximately north-south through the centre of the site is thought to represent the main avenue of the former village. Within this area, there are no subsurface features, and it is irregularly bordered by post holes. On the 1909 surveyor's map prepared by C.C. Fairchild, the width of the main avenue of most of the villages is regularly recorded as one chain, or 66 feet. A letter written from the Surveyor General to Fairchild indicates that on some occasions this measure may not indicate the reality of the town's layout, with buildings sometimes overlapping into the surveyed roadway (Letter from Surveyor General E. DeVille Esq. LL.D. to Fairchild , September 14, 1909, Saskatchewan Archives R-183, I.176). It is evident that in mapping, surveyors were following the regulations laid out by the Dominion Land Survey for town sites in Saskatchewan, in that streets were to be not less than 66 feet in width. In addition, a June 15, 1909 letter from the Deputy Minister of the Interior to the Surveyor General states that:

> The minister's desire is that all Doukhobor village sites, including those already surveyed and those to be surveyed, be subdivided into lots. The details respecting the areas of the respective villages and the

> size of the lots have already been arranged on the ground between Mr. Fairchild and Mr. McDougall... The surveyor should note on the plans which will accompany his report on each village site the name of the occupant of each lot (Saskatchewan Archives R-183, I.176).

It seems that the aim of the mapping process was less to record the Doukhobors' reality than to attempt to impose a different descriptive reality to assist in the later disposition or development of village sites. A further indication that great accuracy in mapping was not required of the surveyors is given in a statement in another letter to Fairchild from the Surveyor General, which states that the "plans must show all the information usually shown on final plans... but no attempt at draughtsmanship need be made" (Saskatchewan Archives R-183, I.176).

5.3.1 **Southwest Concentration** *(13.25 excavated units, 5 backhoe trenches; Fig. 5.7)*

Feature 6:Privy

The surface indication of feature 6 consisted of a roughly square dark grey stain approximately 1 m by 1 m. A 1.5 m by 0.5 m trench was placed across the feature with long axis aligned east-west, encompassing excavation units 508N564E (north quadrants) and 508N563E (NE quadrant only). The feature extended to a depth of approximately 90 cm below surface. The matrix inside the feature consisted of dark brown fill, well defined against the surrounding yellow clay. At the bottom of the feature, through levels 5 and 6, excavators noted collapsed wooden planking and a red-brown seed-filled organic layer. A tin can, a nearly complete boot, and bovine faunal remains in the uppermost layer correspond to layers of mottled silty clay that likely represent fill from the site surface that was placed during or after abandonment of the feature. One major episode of use, with a fecal layer, chicken remains, and bottle glass, was represented at the bottom of the feature. This was overlain by layers of fill with similar kinds of refuse, and another possible lens of deposition from privy use.

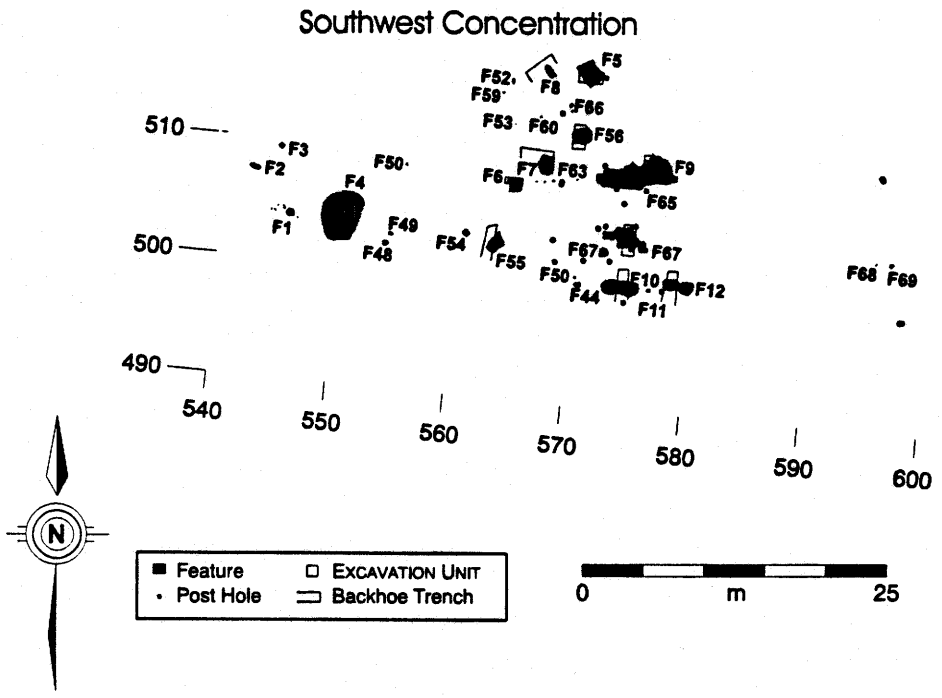


Figure 5.7: Southwest Concentration (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS).

Feature 7:Privy

The surface planview of this feature was an irregular rectangular shape, and the surface diameter of the privy feature was 140 cm. Six 20 cm layers were removed by backhoe to expose the south profile of this privy feature, which was rich in cultural materials. Recovered artifacts include broken container glass, glass bottles and portions with paper label remnants, crockery jug fragments, sewn leather scraps, soft orange brick fragments, metal scrap, a complete ink or dye bottle, lamp chimney glass, and most fragments of a broken porcelain bowl with a pink, orange and green floral design and a base marking reading "Germany".

The feature extended to a depth of 110 cm below surface. A single use episode interspersed with layers of wall slumping is represented by fecal deposits at the base of the feature. The layer of fill directly above this fecal layer produced the greatest concentration of cultural materials, including complete and nearly complete bottles, and

ceramic vessels. Two dateable artifacts from this fill layer, a bottle (1903) and a ceramic bowl (1906), produced a median date for this layer of approximately 1905. This may represent an intentional fill layer containing household garbage in primary deposition. A great variety of faunal materials from this feature includes cow, goose, turkey, chicken, and sheep remains. The two uppermost levels contained more highly fragmented, unidentifiable remains, and likely represents fill containing redeposited materials from the site surface.

Feature 56:Privy

A roughly circular dark brown surface stain approximately 2m in diameter indicated the presence of Feature 56. A 2m by 1 m trench was placed to bisect the feature, composed of units 510N569E (north half), 511N569E, and 512N569E (south half).

Through levels 2-4, artifact yield was very low, although the width of the feature diminished little. The uppermost layer consists of a separate fill episode of loose mottled clay with manure and wood inclusions. This layer produced a relatively high concentration of structural remains, such as nails and window glass, and bovine faunal remains. These materials are not present in the rest of the feature, and it is suggested that this fill layer consists of materials redeposited from nearby surface scatter.

At a depth of 40 cm below the surface, excavators began to encounter large quantities of faunal remains, including chicken, rabbit, and rodent, that continued in density to the bottom of the feature. A small number of fruit seeds was also recovered. The layer between 40 and 80 cm was also likely a fill layer, as fecal remains were not present. Artifact frequency was low.

Beginning at 80 cm below surface was a spongy organic layer that occurred sporadically to the bottom of the disturbed area. Fill above and interspersed within this layer consisted of dark grey, mottled clay. The organic material likely represents decomposed fecal matter from the use of the feature as a privy. Beneath the disturbed matrix, excavators also noted a yellow-orange 'leach' stain in the undisturbed clay

matrix. The feature extended to a depth of 160 cm below surface.

Feature 9:Trench / Midden

An elongated east-west oblong stain alerted excavators to feature 9. A 1 m by 2.5 m trench consisting of units 509N575E, 510N575E, and the southern half of 511N575E was excavated through the widest part of Feature 9. Surface collection yielded ash and charcoal (concentrated in the eastern extremity), lamp chimney glass, wood fragments, bottle glass, wire, nails, a leather glove, squash seeds, textile scraps, and plaster and brick fragments. Similar cultural materials were recovered from level 2, 3, and 4. In addition, level 2 produced fruit seeds, and level 3 yielded a leather shoe and straps. Fish scales and bones were also recovered from level 4, as were concentrations of brick staining. Artifact density decreased through level 5, until the feature bottom was reached at about 70 cm below surface.

Stratigraphy in the excavation units showed layers of ash and charcoal, brick, and clay deposition in discrete lenses. Refitted flower pot sherds from across levels 2 to 4 indicate that there was either one large episode of household refuse deposition into the trench or redeposition of surface scatter after sweeping of the same household and yard in a number of events, into which fragments of the same broken vessels were incorporated. Lower levels contained more structural remains than the uppermost layer, which was high in household remains. The former may represent intentional yard cleaning episodes, while the latter includes redeposited surface scatter of household remains, or an abandonment period site cleaning activity. Faunal remains in the upper layer consists of chicken, fish, cow, rabbit, and sheep bones, while lower layers contain only fish remains.

Feature 4:Unknown Function

The surface indication of Feature 4 was an oval-round grey stain in the soil approximately 4m in diameter, with a concentration of wood material along its southern margin. A 1 m by 4m excavation trench aligned north and south was measured in for

excavation. This trench included units 503N550E, 504N550E, 505N550E, and 506N550E.

Excavators noted the presence of two separate coloured layers of sterile clay on the northern margin of the feature. Burn oxidation and charcoal scatter in units 505N550E and 506N550E became highly concentrated through level 2, including potentially heat fractured granite pieces with 15-20 cm diameters. This burn staining continued into level 3, as the feature constricted with depth to be contained mostly in units 504N, 505N and the southern half of 506N. An intrusive pit was visible in the southeast corner of 503N550E, extending to 51 cm below the surface. This subfeature yielded no cultural materials. Rock scatters continued to a depth of over 120 cm below surface, at which depth a very strong manure smell was detected in the excavation units, along with manure-like fill.

Artifacts recovered from the upper levels of this feature (3,4,5,6, and 7) include bottle glass, window glass, slate, machine cut and wire nails, ceramic fragments, metal scrap, a rake head, tin can fragments, buttons, wire, bucket parts, and leather scraps in a manure and clay matrix with charcoal inclusions, fire-cracked rocks and wood scrap. At level 8, artifact yield dropped significantly to include small amounts of window glass, bottle glass, nails, animal hair, and metal scrap. At level 8, excavators noted that the feature appeared to be lined with wood on the north side. Throughout the feature, the dominant artifact class recovered was structural remains, although a relatively large number of household tableware fragments were recovered through levels 5 and 6.

Fairchild's 1909 map suggests that this feature was placed underneath a structure of some kind, although the function of this building is not known. Greater concentrations of artifacts in levels 2 - 7, and individual layers of charcoal, manure, and clay fill, seem to represent separate deposition episodes, likely from the vicinity of this or a nearby house and or barn. Thicker layers of fill with lower artifact density in the lower levels are less informative. Cow and chicken bones were present in levels 2-7.

At the bottom of level 10, shovel excavations were discontinued for reasons of time and safety, and a backhoe was used to complete the trench to a depth of 3 m, at

which point the fairly level floor of the feature was detected. The function of this feature is not known.

Feature 5:Unknown Function

Feature 5 was a square grey discolouration in the soil with whitewash fragments around the perimeter, aligned diagonally with respect to the site grid. The surface yielded a small amount of bone, leather, ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts. Two excavation units, 517N559E and 517N560E, were placed in an east-west trench across the diagonal axis of the feature.

The matrix of level 2 consisted of a very soft manure-like layer with visible fibrous content, surrounded on the eastern margin by an indistinct band of wood remains at the edge of the feature. By the bottom of level 3 (20 - 40 cm), the manure layer ended, and the diameter of the feature constricted through this level. Most of the cultural materials present in this feature were recovered from this manure-like layer.

Together, the units produced much fragmented metal through levels 2 and 3, a man's leather 'brogue' shoe, enamelware coffee pot, and yellow knit textile fragments. In addition, cow, rabbit, and chicken remains were present on the surface and in level 2. The bottom of the feature was detected at approximately 30 cm below surface as excavations revealed mottled dark grey and buff silty sterile clay below the feature 'floor'. The function of this feature is unknown.

Feature 8:Unknown Function

Excavation of three 20 cm levels by backhoe produced only one wire bucket handle and part of a blue enamelware bucket from this rectangular feature. The maximum depth and width of this feature as evident in the south wall profile were each 50 cm. Due to the low artifact return and small size of Feature 8, determination of its function is difficult.

Feature 10:Unknown Function

Feature 10 consisted of a shallow basin with a maximum depth of 50 cm below surface and diameter of 1.1 m. Three 20 cm levels were excavated by backhoe through the widest part of the stain. Fill in the bottom 30 cm of the feature consisted of multiple thin layers of ash, charcoal, and decomposed wood. Beginning at a depth of 20-30 cm below surface, a lens of loose grey fill capped the ash deposit layer to the surface.

Few cultural materials were recovered from this feature, but those found include a ceramic rim sherd, leather strap, nail, container glass, and window glass. It is possible that F10 represents a small household ash disposal pit.

Feature 12:Unknown Function

Feature 12 was similar in size and composition to feature 10, with a maximum depth of 30 cm below surface, and profile width of 1 m. The feature was excavated in three levels by backhoe. Wood chip lenses and grey and brown fill constitute the matrix. Very few artifacts, including one leather scrap and one black-on-white painted ceramic sherd, were recovered from F12.

Feature 55:Unknown Function

Feature 55 was a shallow basin-shaped area of disturbed grey fill with no significant internal stratigraphy. Extending to a depth of 63 cm below the surface, and with a profile width of 1.7 m, this feature was excavated in four levels by backhoe. Only two pieces of wire were recovered from the feature, whose function is unknown.

Feature 67:Cellar

A 1 m by 2m trench was excavated across the approximate centre of this irregular elongated stain. Units 502N574E (south half), 503N574E, and 504N574E comprised the trench.

Small amounts of fragmented metal, leather scrap, brick fragments, broken glass, and a few nails were recovered from level 2. Level 3 produced one ceramic sherd from

all three units. Due to low artifact density and time restrictions, after this point, only the western quadrants of the trench were excavated in order to display the full profile of the feature. At a depth of 135cm below surface, egg shell fragments and sunflower seed shells were recovered from excavated matrix. No other cultural materials were recovered from this feature, whose function is uncertain. The north and south walls of Feature 67 were relatively vertical, suggesting a feature such as a cellar, but the low artifact yield offers little basis for comparison with other cellar features at the site. The presence of brick remains in the lowest, thick level of fill is similar to that in cellar feature 13, however. The irregular floor of the pit feature was reached at a depth of 120-140 cm below surface.

5.3.2 **Southeast Concentration** (*10 excavated units, 1 backhoe trench; Figure 5.8*)

Feature 42: Trench/Midden

Feature 42 consisted of an elongated patch of grey fill in the surrounding light brown undisturbed matrix. Whitewash, plaster, or mortar stains were visible along the southeastern border of the feature. A dense surface scatter of artifacts was recovered, including black textile, nails, and glass fragments. A cobalt-blue coloured stain in the feature matrix approximately 1 cm in diameter also became visible after surface sweeping. This stain was taken as a sample, but has not yet been analyzed.

Two areas of excavation were completed in feature 42. A single metre square unit, 516N638E, was excavated at the western border of the feature. A 2m by 1 m trench was also placed through the centre of the feature, perpendicular to its long axis. This trench comprised units 516N641E (north half only), 517N641E, and 518N641E (south half only). Through level 2, wood remains resembled some sort of floor planking extending from the east wall of the 2m by 1 m trench into the unexcavated portion of the feature. Level 3 was very productive, with excavators finding burned wood, textile, and glass, fruit seeds, and a complete bottle with its cork in a matrix with layers of sawdust. Artifact materials aside from the wood were not evidently burned. A 6 cm wide upright wooden post was uncovered in the east wall of the 2m excavation trench extending from

a depth of 12 cm below surface to 60 cm below surface.

The width of the feature narrowed with depth, and upon completion at 60 cm below surface appeared to have a semi-cylindrical profile. Sedimentary layers of ash, sawdust, and earth deposition were distinctly visible in the wall profiles during and after excavation. The three excavated levels produced small household and personal items in amounts increasing with depth, with a relatively large variety of artifact types in each of these categories. The nature of the artifacts recovered, and that of the layered charcoal and ash deposition, suggests that this trench feature served as a household refuse midden. Household trash and stove or oven sweepings likely comprised the fill of this feature.

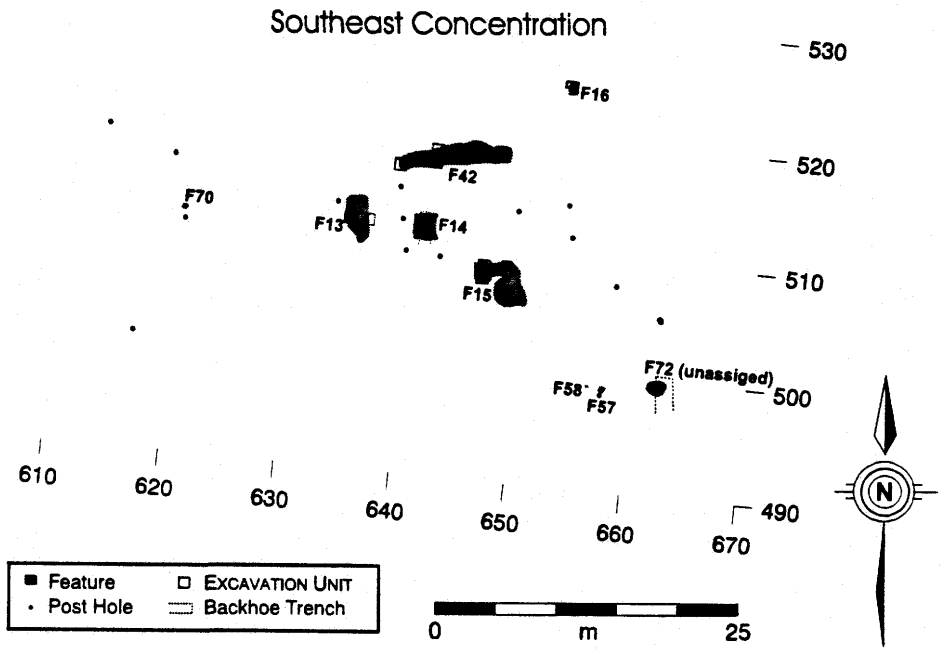


Figure 5.8: Southeast Concentration (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS)

Feature 13:Cellar

Feature 13's surface planview consisted of a rectangular grey-black stain approximately 2m east to west and 4m north to south. Two and a half excavation units, 511N634E, 511N635E, and 511N636E (west quadrants only) formed a trench

perpendicular to the long axis of this feature. The depth, rectangular shape, and presence of wooden structural remains inside the walls of the feature suggest its use as a cellar.

The soil matrix within the feature consisted of a complex stratigraphy of disturbed clay, ash lenses, and manure layers containing a large amount of cultural material. Artifacts recovered from screening of surface deposits consist of brown jar glass, a railway spike, leather straps, and cast iron stove parts. Corresponding cast-iron stove parts were recovered in the subsurface level 2 in the northwest corner of unit 511N634E. Beginning at a depth of 15cm below surface, the western margin of unit 511N634E showed wood and charcoal in a thin band along the edge of the feature. This deposit is thought to represent the remains of wooden cribbing in the cellar.

Level 3 yielded a great deal of large metal items, including a hinged door with the embossed manufacturer's marking "McCormick / Hamilton Ont." from unit 511N634E. In addition, unit 511N635E produced part of a rectangular cast iron stove bottom with a leg, and a rod machine part. Level 5 (60-80 cm dbs) produced rabbit, chicken, and fish bones and other small artifacts, although cultural materials were unlike the large refuse deposition of upper layers. The large size of metal refuse recovered from levels 2-5 of Feature 13 suggests that these upper levels of deposition represent fill episode(s) associated with site abandonment or post-abandonment cleaning activity.

Artifact density decreased greatly from 80 cm depth below surface, and the flat bottom of the feature was reached at 160 cm. From a depth of 60 cm to 160 cm below surface, only the southern quadrants of the units were excavated in order to reveal the feature profile on the south wall. Some structural materials were recovered from the bottom layer of the feature (140-160 cm dbs), including plaster, mortar, or whitewash fragments and brick pieces with a stamped "Rosthern" logo. Unlike the upper levels, these lowest levels showed relatively homogenous fill with brick and plaster inclusions, and small numbers of household and personal artifacts. These levels may represent intentional fill placed in the cellar during abandonment, either intentionally or accidentally as a result of the removal of the surrounding building.

Feature 14:Cellar

Surface clearing exposed F14 as a square stain of approximately 2m by 2m dimensions. Surface debris included brick fragments, a horseshoe, window and container glass, leather straps, and iron bar. Eight levels were excavated by backhoe, to an average depth of 125cm below surface.

Artifact density remained consistently high through all levels. Materials recovered include boot and shoe leather, container glass, nails, ceramic sherds, a small whetstone, and 2 complete bottles including a "Golden Key" mineral water bottle from the Drewry company in Winnipeg. The depth of this feature, its straight walls, and large dimensions suggest that it represents a cellar. The proximity to cellar feature F13, however, raises some questions about the building history of this specific lot. The stratigraphy of Feature 14 evidences a number of fill episodes, although these are more difficult to identify than in Feature 13. Brick debris through many of the depositional layers from surface to base suggests that the fill episodes likely occurred during or after lot abandonment, when the building was removed from this location. Leather footwear scraps throughout the feature suggest that some amount of surface scatter from in and around the corresponding house was secondarily deposited with the feature fill.

Feature 15A and 15B:Unknown Function

At the time of initial survey, Feature 15 was labeled as a single feature, but clearing associated with planviewing and surface screening activities showed that this roughly "L" shaped stain consisted of two overlapping features. The two were therefore labeled "15A" and "15B":

Feature 15A:

A 1 m by 2m trench was excavated perpendicular to the long axis of this feature, including units 506N648E and 506N649E. Screening of loose surface deposits recovered brick fragments, charcoal, chinking, wood, as well as glass, ceramic, and metal fragments.

Through excavation of the trench, excavators observed pronounced charcoal staining and decomposed, powdery orange brick deposits in the walls and floor of the trench. Discrete layers of such staining, including roughly rectangular "brick" shapes were clearly visible in the wall profiles. The presence of an intrusive pit with stratigraphy and cultural materials similar to the rest of feature 15A is also visible in the southeast corner profile of unit 506N649E.

Despite ash deposits in the feature, only one artifact, a glass bead, showed signs of burning. Level 2 produced artifacts similar to those recovered from surface screening, in addition to nails, squash seeds, textile, egg shell, and a milk glass button. Level 3 of unit 506N648E produced concentrated patches of metal bits representing the remains of a badly fragmented metal bucket. Overall artifact yield from this feature was very low, although the stratigraphy of brick and ash deposits suggests many depositional events from an unknown source. The feature bottom was irregular, from 35cm-45cm below surface.

Feature 15B:

Surface collection from Feature 15B produced many fewer artifacts than that from the adjoining feature 15A. A trench including units 507N646E and 508N646E was excavated across the centre of this roughly square feature. The excavation trench included posthole P31, which was found inside the boundaries of F15B.

Within the disturbed dark clay matrix, a stratigraphy of ash lenses was found. A layer of wood and charcoal was visible at the base of the feature at 61 cm dbs.

A projectile point approximately of the McKean complex style (5000-3800 years old) was recovered from Level 2 of unit 507N646E. Also in level 2, excavators found fish scales and nails. Level 3 produced metal and textile fragments, ceramic sherds, and fire cracked rock. Similar artifacts were collected from level 4, in addition to leather scraps, cork, squash seeds, and a knife. The west wall profile of this feature shows roughly vertical walls ending at a level floor. The shallow depth and low artifact density of this feature, however, compared to the cellar and privy deposits that were excavated,

makes assignment of function very difficult.

Feature 16:Privy

A 0.5 m by 1 m excavation unit, 523N652E, was placed to bisect this 1 m square grey stain on the southern margin of the central trench area.

Top levels produced large numbers of chokecherry seeds, plum pits, and watermelon seeds from a reddish brown organic layer around the periphery of the feature. Inside this peripheral layer, fill consisted of disturbed clay, suggesting filling activity after or during the use-life of the feature. Several bottle parts and bottles, and some ceramics, were recovered from the eastern quadrant of the excavation unit only. An upright wooden post was found at the northwest extremity of the feature, extending to a depth of 24.5 cm below surface. The feature bottom, reached at 47.5 cm below the surface, was coated in the same reddish brown seed-filled layer present around the sides of the feature in higher levels. The depth, narrow plan, and content of organic layers in this feature suggest its use as a privy.

5.3.3 **Northwest Concentration** *(4 excavated units, 2 backhoe trenches; Figure 5.9)*

Feature 22:Privy

Crew members started the excavation of Feature 22 by shovel shaving, although after the first 30 cm of excavation, the feature was completed by backhoe due to time constraints. The north wall profile exposed through excavation showed the feature to have a maximum depth of 100 cm below surface, and a surface width of 145cm at this wall of the trench.

Artifact recovery was primarily from the three levels excavated by backhoe. Materials found by excavators include a large enamelware bowl, parts of a beige and brown crockery jug, metal fragments, textile scraps, container glass, and fruit seeds. The upper layers lacked artifact materials, but contained a number of small field stones coated in a powdery white "limey" substance.

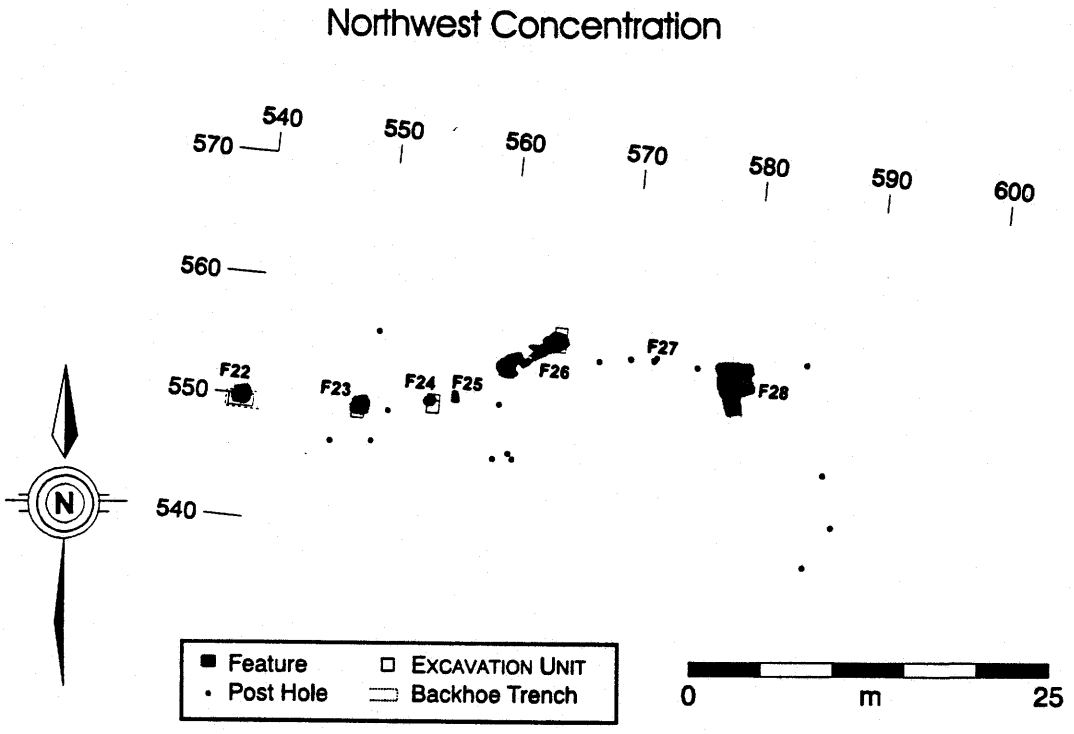


Figure 5.9: Northwest Concentration (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS).

The 'use level' of this privy was found at the bottom of the feature, and consisted of a 30-40 cm thick band of fecal material interspersed with fill and wall slumping layers. A larger amount of cultural materials were present in the fill level directly above the fecal deposits, perhaps representing redeposited household refuse. Uppermost fill layers contained lower concentrations of artifacts. These layers may have been deposited during site cleaning activities after or during abandonment, or by cultivation.

Feature 26:Trench / Midden

This elongated 'barbell' shaped stain showed charcoal and brick fragments on the exposed surface. Units 556N564E and 557N564E comprised a trench excavated through one of the wider ends of the stain.

Level 2 produced a large amount of wood, charcoal, and ash with nails, metal fragments, brick fragments, leather scraps, glass, and crockery fragments recovered by

excavators. Similar materials were found in levels 3, 4, and 5 as well as some textile scraps, fish scales, and egg shell. No artifacts were recovered from level 6. Ash, charcoal and wood concentrations continued to be noted throughout the excavation. The west wall profile shows the feature to extend to an average depth of 64 cm below surface on the southern half, and to a maximum of 87 cm below surface on the northern edge.

The elongated plan, series of ash and charcoal deposition suggests a similarity to features 9 and 42. The composition of the artifact assemblage from Feature 26 is dominated by structural artifacts, as in Feature 9, while Feature 42 had greater concentrations of household and personal debris than the other two trench features.

Feature 28:Cellar

Feature 28 was a very large irregularly shaped / composite rectangular feature filled at the surface level with very large boulders. The feature was excavated by backhoe to expose an average depth of 150 cm below surface. The exposed west wall displayed a profile 4.3 m in length.

Materials recovered from below the boulder layer consisted of horse remains, harness straps, tin can scraps, and parts of wooden beam 7-8 cm in diameter. The horse remains were bordered by stratigraphic layers of reddish-brown manure and mottled brown clay containing fragments of plaster, mortar or whitewash. Other artifacts recovered from this feature include lamp chimney glass, bottle glass, metal strapping, nails, wire, window glass, metal fragments, galvanized metal bucket parts, tin can fragments, and a colorless glass oil lamp base. The vertical walls, approximately level floor, and depth of this feature suggest that it may have been used as a building cellar although its large horizontal dimensions are unlike those of other cellar features at the site. The horse and dog remains present in levels 3-6 were most likely deposited after the building associated with the feature or the lot was abandoned, as dead animals would likely not be disposed of near a home. Similarly, the large boulders within the uppermost layer of the feature fill may represent structural remains, such as stones used in a building foundation. The large dimensions of these stones suggest that they may

have been pushed into the pit by large machinery before cultivation over the lot could take place. Both the animal bones and the rock layer may relate to a time period later than the occupation of the village of Kirilovka, and be the result of the Ribalkin family's farming activities.

Feature 23:Burn Stain

Feature 23 consisted of a 1 m diameter 'donut' shaped stain of oxidized orange sand in the surrounding yellow-grey clay matrix. No cultural materials were recovered from the excavation of unit 550N528E, and the base of the stain was reached at 14 cm below the ground surface.

Feature 24:Unknown Function

Feature 24 was indicated by a round reddish brown stain less than 1 m in diameter. Units 550N554E (north quadrants) and 551N554E (south quadrants) were excavated to bisect the feature. Artifacts recovered from level 2 include nails, metal fragments, glass, a milk glass button, a leather shoe, and ladies' boot heel. The bottom of the feature was reached at 26 cm below surface. The relatively thin, lens shaped level of deposition in this feature makes assignment of a particular function difficult. For the present time, this feature will be considered to be a midden.

5.3.4 **Northeast Concentration** (*3.5 excavated units, 5 backhoe trenches; Figure 5.10*)

Feature 18:Trench / Midden

Located in the centre of the eastern extent of the trench area of the site, Feature 18 was indicated by an east-west elongated oblong patch of ash and charcoal stained earth approximately 2.5 m by 1.5 m. One and a half excavation units, 532N640E and the southern half of 533N640E, were laid out across the most concentrated part of the feature.

Metal encrusted with burned wood and charcoal became evident within the first layer of excavation. Excavators also uncovered a concentration of burned wood scraps

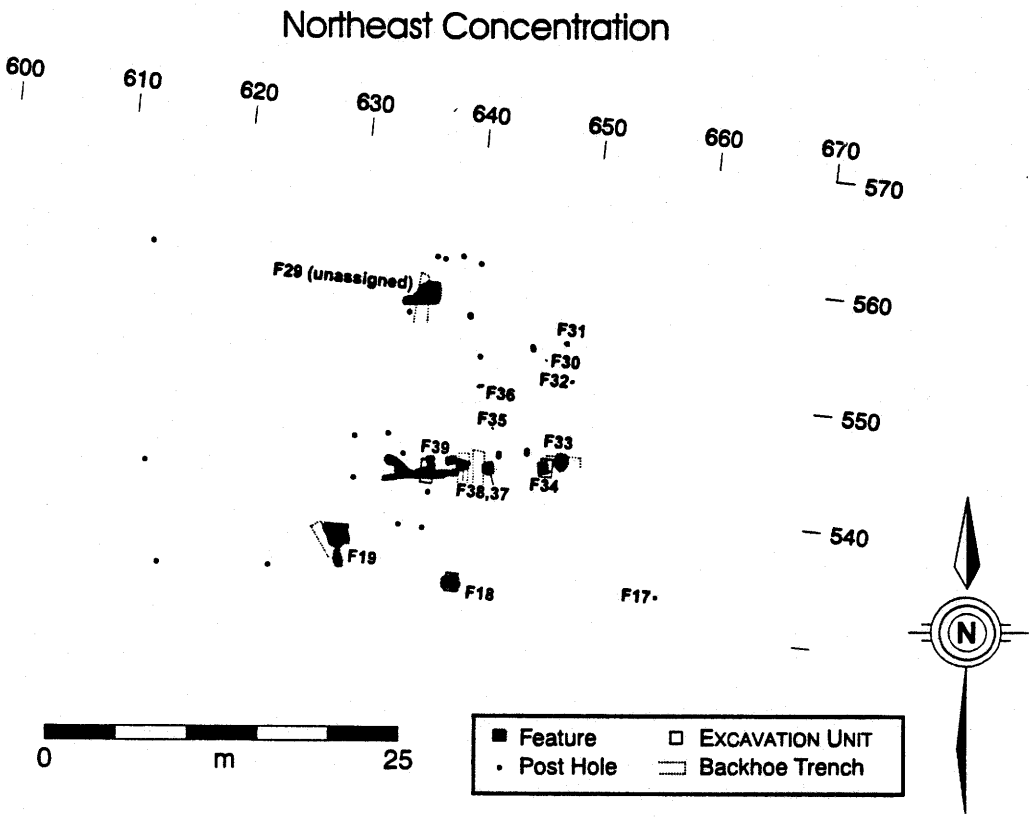


Figure 5.10: Northeast Concentration (Digital mapping by Shelley McConnell, WHS)

in a band running east-west through the centre of the trench at a depth of 10 cm below surface. Artifacts recovered from the surface and levels 2 and 3 of this feature include leather scraps and laces, nails, lead foil, glass fragments, metal scraps, ceramic fragments, and a small metal padlock.

The west wall profile showed the presence of discrete lenses of ash and charcoal, suggesting the occurrence of separate dumping events. Swirled clay below the base of the feature indicated the presence of undisturbed, water deposited sediments. Although approximately 1 m of the upper portion of this feature was removed by construction activity, the deposits found in this F18 bore similarity to the lower levels of feature 42. Elongated trench features such as these, and F9, are presently thought to have been borrow pits used for clay in building construction at the site, which were later used as garbage and household ash disposal pits.

Feature 19:Kitchen Midden

Feature 19 was discovered by excavators not as a stain in the ground surface, but a dense area of household refuse. Four backhoe test levels were excavated to expose the maximum depth of the deposit at approximately 45 cm below the ground surface. The surface plan of F19 was difficult to ascertain, as the feature intersected the wall of the deeply disturbed trench area and the northern, less disturbed strip of the right-of-way. All cultural materials were recovered from the deep trench area and few articles were noted in the adjacent wall that should theoretically contain remains of the upper levels of the feature. Artifacts recovered from excavated levels include machine parts, a tractor seat, and household and personal refuse such as enamelware and leather footwear. The larger refuse from the bottom of this feature is in some ways similar to that present at the top of cellar Feature 13, and in privy Feature 72. Most artifacts from this feature were within a single, thick layer of clay fill, and were close to completeness. It is likely that this layer was deposited over a short period of time, and may represent abandonment or post abandonment fill. At present, the type of material recovered from, and dimensions of this feature suggest that it is the bottom part of a cellar.

Feature 33:Privy

This privy feature, adjacent to privy F34, was excavated by backhoe to a maximum depth of 72 cm below surface. The width of the feature at the profiled wall was 60 cm. A single concentration of bottle glass was found in the north wall profile, directly above layers of fecal matter interspersed with fill and wall slumping layers. Container glass, including liquor and other commercial product bottle, was recovered from this feature. Two dateable bottles recovered from the concentration yield a mean date of approximately 1913.

Feature 34:Privy

The surface plan of this privy feature consisted of a 1 m by 1 m round-cornered square stain in the surrounding yellow-grey sterile clay. Units 542N647E (north half)

and 543N647E were excavated to a depth of 115 cm.

Little material was recovered from the upper levels of the feature, although the boundary between disturbed fill and surrounding clay was clearly visible. Recovered artifacts include small amounts of broken bottle glass, metal fragments, leather scraps, window glass, and small fragments of bone. Wood and charcoal remnants were observed but not collected. Levels 2 and 3 consist of layers of fill containing highly fragmented remains, likely deposited with surface soil pushed into the feature. The fill layer below this, comprising level 4, consists of clay with little cultural material, and may be clay dug from a new privy pit. Below this layer are three lenses of fecal matter interspersed with clay fill, and containing artifacts such as glass jar and bottle fragments, complete gin bottles, and an enamelware vessel.

Feature 37:Privy?

This shallow, basin shaped feature was excavated by backhoe to expose the east wall profile. Stratigraphic layers consisted of thin bands of ash, tan and light grey clay. The feature reached a maximum depth of 45 cm below surface. Artifacts recovered include fruit seeds, bottle glass, canning jar fragments, lamp chimney glass, and nails. The shape of this feature, both in profile and planview, suggests a shallow privy. However, fecal deposits are not present, so the functional identification of this feature can not be conclusive.

Feature 38:Possible Privy

Feature 38 consisted of a shallow basin filled with layers of clay over a thin wood lens and an ash and charcoal lens. Maximum depth as shown in the west wall profile is 25 cm below surface, with a feature width of 95 cm at this profile. The feature yielded bottle and container glass from the generic packaging, personal, and household categories. Two dateable bottles yielded a median date of 1908 for the cultural deposits in this shallow feature.

Feature 39:Composite trench/privy

The surface indication of feature 39 appeared as an irregularly shaped elongated stain that upon excavation was found to be a combination of small shallow privy-like pits and a long, narrow, very shallow ash-filled trench. Units 541N637E and 542N637E were excavated to a depth of 10 cm in the area of the shallow trench feature and 40 cm in the intersecting shallow privy. The shallow trench feature produced textile and cut leather scraps, machine cut nails, bottle glass, and a metal boot heel part in a clay matrix with charcoal and decomposing wood. Most materials were recovered from the surface. The privy sub-feature began to show an organic fecal layer at a depth of 8 cm below surface. The function of the trench feature is likely similar to that of Features 9 and 42.

5.3.5 **Unassigned Features**

Feature 72:Large Privy (backhoe)

Feature 72 was a very deep and highly productive privy deposit excavated by backhoe in nine levels. While upper levels yielded small amounts of broken container glass, miscellaneous metal objects, and enamelware fragments, lower levels produced larger numbers of complete glass bottles, enamelware vessels, linoleum fragments, an iron railway lantern body, and fruit seeds. After profiling, excavators removed much of this material from the west wall of the trench. The maximum depth of the 1.2 m diameter feature was 185 cm below surface.

Two separate artifact-rich layers were found in the excavation: the first containing many glass bottles within a matrix of fecal matter from 145 cm below surface to the base of the feature and the other a higher layer consisting of larger household and miscellaneous metal debris above the first layer of what appeared to be fecal matter, but below a layer of apparent animal manure.

It is believed that the lowest artifact layer consists of materials deposited during the feature's use as a privy, while the upper layers represent materials deposited after the feature was abandoned, in site or lot clearing activity.

Feature 72 is categorized as unassigned because of its distance from other features in the Southeast Cluster. As well if it is part of the Southeast Cluster it does not adhere to the pattern of linear arrangement of household features perpendicular to the main street. I believe, rather, that this privy is associated with a feature grouping south of the southernmost site boundary.

Feature 20:Cellar (4 excavated units)

Located in the trench portion of the site, Feature 20 was the first feature investigated in the initial assessment of the site. The top 2 levels of the excavation (20-40 cm dbs) consisted of a coarse layer of large cobbles and fire cracked rock interspersed with leather shoes, metal strapping, and machine parts. A 2 m by 2 m excavation unit was started before the establishment of the site grid, exposing the northern half of the 2 m by 4 m rectangular feature.

A post-hole was uncovered in the south wall of the excavation trench from 50 cm dbs to 80 cm dbs. The south wall profile of the feature showed vertical walls and a level base, including a layer of decomposed wood near the bottom, indicating the presence of a floor. The depth, dimensions, and rectangular plan of this feature indicate its use as a cellar. The layer of coarse rock and artifact fill may represent the post abandonment deposition of refuse at the site, the fire broken rock either representing structural remains from a burned building, or cracked rocks discarded after use in a nearby bania.

Feature 21:Unknown Function (2 excavated units)

Feature 21 was the westernmost feature located in the trench area, indicated by an oblong concentration of ash filled soil. Units 532N570E (north quadrants) and 533N570E (south quadrants) were excavated on the western concentration of this feature. Levels 2 and 3 of the excavation showed continuation of the ash and charcoal staining, but artifact recovery was limited to one wire nail from the entire feature. The base of the feature was encountered at 30 cm below surface.

Feature 29:Possible Cellar (backhoe)

The profile shape and depth of this feature suggest that it was used as a cellar, but artifact return was uncharacteristically low when compared to features 13, 14, and 20.

Leather footwear scraps, enamelware vessel fragments, and stoneware sherds were recovered from the surface. Only window glass fragments were found in subsurface deposits.

The west wall profile shows the maximum depth of the feature to be approximately 80 cm below surface, and the width to be 1.4 m.

5.4 *Interpretation of Site Remains*

The nature of the sample recovered from Kirilovka places some restrictions on interpretations that can be made regarding the archaeological materials. First, the lack of surface remains for comparison with those in the buried contexts prevents valid discussion of household disposal patterns. At this site, we have only those artifacts that were primarily or secondarily disposed of in sub-surface features. A fully representative sample would necessarily include materials disposed of both in surface and buried contexts. Within consumer choice studies, however, it has been suggested that buried contexts provide information that may be preferable to that gained from surface deposits: "Relative to surface deposits, sealed contexts provide the most favorable context for preservation of dietary refuse and a wide range of durable consumer goods that reflect purchasing decisions made by the household"(LeeDecker 1994:367).

Although there are different disposal activities, such as primary refuse and secondary site cleaning, visible in the stratigraphic composition of some features, the short period of occupation of the site prevents useful temporal distinctions between layers and features. Within the site area, all cultural levels relate to the Doukhobor village occupation of the site that occurred between 1899-1920. There was no previous Euro-Canadian occupation of the site, and the distance and orientation of the later farm buildings from the area of the site studied make it very likely that contamination from later activities is minimal. In addition, dateable artifacts within the collection indicate a

period of occupation corresponding to the twenty year duration of the village of Kirilovka. While the features relate to one period of occupation, that of the Doukhobor village, different fill activities are evident in the feature deposits. According to Charles LeeDecker "It is generally assumed that higher degrees of vessel completeness are indicative of refuse deposited directly from the household, while lower degrees of vessel completeness are indicative of redeposited material" (1994:359). In addition, the kinds of artifacts deposited will vary based on the activity that causes deposition. For example, the stove parts present in the upper levels of Feature 13 likely do not represent refuse from daily activity, but rather a layer of debris deposited during abandonment or post abandonment site cleaning activity.

Due to the problems inherent in the interpretation of site features, disposal behaviour, spatial distribution of activities within households, and detailed stratigraphic analyses will not be undertaken here. Analysis and interpretation of archaeological remains will focus on artifact, faunal, and floral remains in order to make conclusions about the behaviour of site residents during the occupation of the village. The specific categories of material culture selected for this analysis are household and personal artifacts and commercial packaging. I believe that these categories best reflect the household consumption decisions that will later be considered in the context of Doukhobor philosophy. In addition, work, transportation, and structural artifacts are less appropriate than the above mentioned categories for several reasons. Work related artifacts, such as hand tools, were few in number and therefore will not be considered to contribute significantly to our understanding of the site. Transportation related artifacts provide less information about their original owners' daily lives at Kirilovka, and may have been owned jointly by a group of families or whole village. Finally, architectural remains at Kirilovka were highly disturbed and will not be considered in this thesis, therefore structural materials will not be analyzed here.

Chapter 6
Artifact Analysis

6.1 *Classification of Artifacts*

The classification scheme utilized in cataloguing the Kirilovka archaeological materials is based on a taxonomy designed by John Brandon for the MacAdem cataloguing software created by Terry Gibson of Western Heritage Services Inc. The structure of Brandon's taxonomy follows the recommendations of Roderick Sprague's 1981 publication; while in the cataloguing process material type composes the first level of categorization, the units used in the analysis of the assemblage are based on the more useful level of functional categories. This is based on Sprague's belief that:

> the purpose of a historic site study is to contribute to our understanding of the culture as a whole. This requires a knowledge of the function of cultural elements discovered in that site. Logically therefore from the point of view of the anthropologist, function is the highest and most productive basis for the site analysis (Sprague 1981:252).

The classification scheme for Kirilovka consists of six functional categories including personal, household, structural, work, transport, and miscellaneous activities. Within each of these categories are functional sub-levels, within which are functionally descriptive artifact titles.

The purely functional nature of the classification breaks down somewhat in the miscellaneous activities category. The main subcategories of this group are commercial packaging whose contents are unknown, and unidentified materials. The former are classified according to their physical form - whether tin can parts or glass bottle parts. In all of these cases, the initial contents of the bottle can not be definitively identified. For example, a rectangular glass bottle may have contained a patent medicine, a household chemical, or horse liniment. In each case the artifact would belong in a different functional category. In cases such as this, some ambiguity is preferable to error. The

latter groups in the miscellaneous class contain unidentified or unidentifiable materials. The object titles in these cases are largely material and morphology based, as function cannot be assigned.

It cannot be assumed that the actual function of an object will remain constant throughout its use life, nor that the perceived function will be the same between producer and consumer. Culture contact, such as that which occurred between Doukhobors and their neighbours and benefactors, may lead to the renegotiation of objects' meaning and function at some point during use life, as objects passed from one cultural context of manufacture to a different cultural context of acquisition, use, and disposal. In the case of an object that may have been reused, or used for multiple tasks or reasons, the functional grouping assigned reflects the intended function of the artifact at the point of its original manufacture. Although it is unfortunate, the nature of reuse of some artifacts cannot be known without direct ethnographic evidence.

6.2 *Southwest Cluster*

6.2.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware

The ceramic tableware collection from the southwest cluster is dominated by white earthenware fragments with transfer printed and painted patterns. A total of 11 different transfer printed designs are present on 17 shards of white bodied ware, only one of which is identifiable to vessel type; the rim of a cup.

Fifteen of the transfer printed sherds are soft bodied white earthenware. The patterns present show mostly floral or organic designs, only three patterns have geometric border designs. Six pieces of soft-bodied white earthenware with painted patterns include four indistinct patterns and one multicolour floral pattern. Also present on 11 shards of white earthenware are four different types of banded pattern. This group of patterns, involving different combinations of orange, yellow, green, and grey stripes, is the only clearly repeated decorative pattern type on the site.

Porcelain is relatively highly represented in this cluster, as there are four vessel

fragments, all likely from separate vessels, one handle, and one nearly complete soup bowl with a multi-coloured floral transfer design (see Figure 6.1 below).

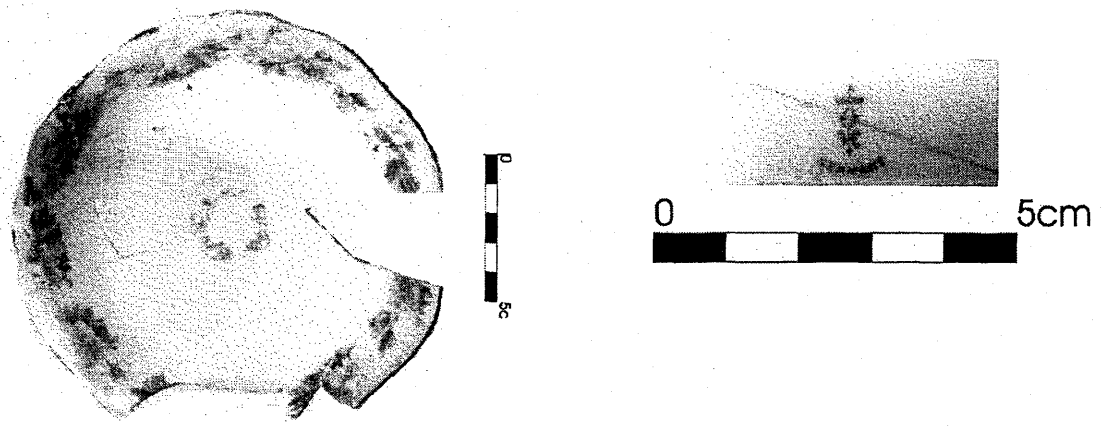


Figure 6.1: Porcelain bowl recovered from excavation of privy Feature 7.

The patterns present in this collection represent at least 5 porcelain vessels, 11 transfer printed whiteware vessels, five painted vessels, and five vessels with banded patterns (Table 6.1). While only one plate and one cup could be identified, the size and curvature of other sherds suggest that most vessels were of individual serving size. Other tableware present in this cluster includes two pressed glass tumblers.

Table 6.1: Southwest Cluster: Ceramic vessel frequency by ware type and decoration.

Ware	# of Vessels	% of Total Vessels
Porcelain	5	19.23
Transfer Printed Ironstone	2	7.69
Transfer Printed White Earthenware	9	34.62
Painted White Earthenware	5	19.23
Banded White Earthenware	5	19.23
Total Vessels	26	100

Food Preparation and Storage

Storage vessels in the Southwest Cluster include one nearly complete brown glazed jug and the base of a buff glazed crock or jug produced by the Red Wing Union Stoneware company of Minnesota (see Figure 6.2). Three other stoneware body fragments indicate the possible presence of more vessels. Only one glass canning jar is represented in this cluster collection.

Figure 6.2: Base of stoneware vessel manufactured in Minnesota

Enamelware vessels in the collection from this cluster include one tea or coffee pot, and one large cooking pot. Several pieces of a yellow ware bowl may represent a vessel used for food preparation or food service.

Food Packaging:

The only glass packaging identifiable as being from commercially prepared food products is a fragment from the body of an aerated water bottle.

Feature provenience and seam types from tin cans were separated into manufacture type to calculate that there are at least 4 open top and 4 hole-in-cap cans represented in this concentration. Most are indistinguishable as to shape and dimensions, although one rectangular open-top can was recovered. In addition, the

closure end from one hole-in-cap can was modified to produce a shaker of some kind by punching holes around its surface.

Household Furnishings

One black glazed red earthenware vase with painted lily of the valley design appears to have served a decorative function, likely as a vase, based on its tall, cylindrical shape (Figure 6.3). The remains of four small red earthenware flowerpots, the only artifacts of this type from the site, were found in one trench feature in this cluster.

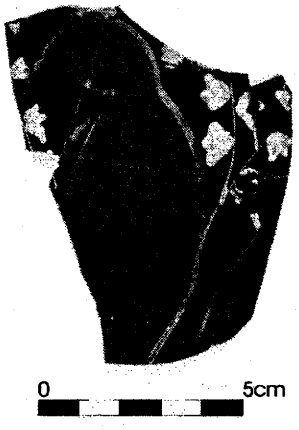


Figure 6.3: Fragment of painted ceramic vase from Southwest concentration.

Two fragments of mirror glass from this cluster, from different features, may indicate the presence of two different mirrors.

Heat and Light

Lamp chimney fragments from at least three indoor lamp chimneys, and one thicker outdoor lamp chimney were recovered from this cluster. Pressed glass fragments representing two separate styles of lamp base were recovered from one feature.

6.2.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Toiletry and Grooming

Personal grooming artifacts from the Southwest cluster include two hard rubber double-sided combs resembling lice-combs, one large black plastic comb, and one wood and bristle brush. Both of the combs have impressed markings, one reading "The Favorite", and the other reading "Unbreakable".

Clothing

Cloth scraps from this cluster are dominated by woven and knit wool fragments, representing textiles likely made by the site residents. Only one cotton scrap is present, as is one fragment of cotton/wool blend yarn. Twenty fragments are of indeterminate textile type.

Buttons include one shell button and three opaque white glass buttons, as well as a composite metal and glass snap from a western shirt, and one four-hole metal 'overall' button. Five fragments of metal clothing fasteners represent suspender or overall buckles and adjusters from two garments.

Analysis of footwear sole fragments with toe portions intact indicates that there is a minimum of four shoes represented in the collection from this area, including three pegged shoes and one welted shoe reinforced with nailing. Only two shoes could be assigned to gender; both are men's shoes. Nearly complete shoes from this cluster include only two specimens. One, a brown leather man's brogue appears to be a commercially purchased welted shoe that was repaired by nailing a patch on the sole after the original sole wore through. The second specimen is a man's nailed and pegged hob-nail work boot.

Thirty-eight fragments of leather footwear were recovered from the Southwest cluster area. Twenty leather lace fragments make up the largest single group (53%). Eight upper fragments (21%), five sole fragments (13%), one unidentified part (3%), and four shoe nails (10%) were also recovered.

One ferrous strip with rectangular slots cut perpendicular to its length, and

flanged long edges, may represent a fastener for a rubber boot

Among the leather scrap, 10 cut fragments also indicate that leather product manufacture or repair was likely taking here.

Medicine

Embossed side panels from one Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller bottle represent the only identifiable pharmaceutical remains from this cluster. Only one other rectangular bottle base, and two finishes (type 20 and 29) may represent pharmaceutical bottles.

Liquor

Liquor bottles were identified based on remaining labels and the shape and colour of the vessel. Complete liquor bottles indicate a variety of beverages, including a wine-style cognac bottle, one aqua whiskey flask manufactured in a cup-bottom mould, one Ricketts moulded aqua whiskey bottle, one turn moulded colourless whiskey bottle, gin case bottle fragments, and a Ricketts moulded wine bottle with a label indicating French manufacture. Unidentified liquor bottles include the neck and finish of a Ricketts moulded aqua bottle, and a base and body from an olive turn moulded bottle.

6.2.3 **Miscellaneous Packaging** (Table 6.2)

Other Beverage Bottles

Bottles from unidentified beverage products include one complete dip moulded green bottle with turn moulded neck and shoulders, one green and two colourless turn moulded bases, three circular aqua bases produced in indeterminate moulds, and an oval cup-bottom moulded base of similar dimensions to the previously discussed whiskey flask.

Other Glass Containers

Glass commercial containers of unspecified origin include a small, aqua oval

base, and a complete small jar with a cork stopper manufactured in a cup-bottom mould.

One brown glass stopper was recovered from level 4 of Feature 4. The style of the stopper is that described by Jones and Sullivan as Club Sauce (1989:152), the title of which is misleading in that it was a common style of stopper for many types of commercial products in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Table 6.2: Southwest Cluster: Bottle type by functional class

Bottle Type		Vessels with Bases
Liquor	Cognac	1
	Whiskey	3
	Gin	(body only)
	Wine	1
	Unid.	2
Aerated Water		(body only)
Other Beverage		7
Medicine Style		1
Other		2
Total		**17**

6.3 *Southeast Cluster*

6.3.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware (Table 6.3)

Two porcelain vessels are represented in the collection from this cluster by undecorated sherds. One is of regular size for an individual serving dish, while the other is a very small base from a specialty vessel or child's tea set. An unidentified unglazed porcelain piece is likely not from a serving dish.

One mould relief ironstone base footring is likely from a container such as a small pitcher or sugar bowl.

Nine transfer printed patterns are present in the collection, five represented by five ironstone sherds, and four by eight white earthenware fragments. Only one vessel type, an earthenware teacup, can be conclusively identified. Two of the transfer printed ironstone fragments show scenes in flow blue, while the others are organic designs in blue and green. Two floral patterns, one geometric pattern, and one indistinct pattern are present on the white earthenware.

White earthenware fragments with painted band designs number fourteen, with combinations of orange, yellow, green, gray and black bands.

In total the ceramic sherds present likely represent one porcelain dish, nine transfer printed white bodied ware vessels, and three vessels with painted band designs.

Table 6.3: Southeast Cluster: Ceramic vessel frequency by ware type and decoration.

Ware Type	# of Vessels	% of Total Vessels	Ranking
Porcelain	2	13.33	4
Mould Relief Ironstone	1	6.67	5
Transfer Print Ironstone	5	33.33	1
Transfer Print White Earthenware	4	26.67	2
Banded White Earthenware	3	20.00	3
Total	15	100.00	

Two glass tumblers and one blue and white enamelware mug are present in this cluster's collection. One table fork, a cutlery handle, and a round-tipped table or kitchen knife represent the highest concentration of cutlery in the site collection (Figure 6.4).

Food Preparation and Storage

Stoneware fragments from three vessels, either jugs or crocks, were recovered from the cellar Feature 13 in this cluster. All are glazed in dark brown on the interior with dark brown and/or buff glazed exteriors.

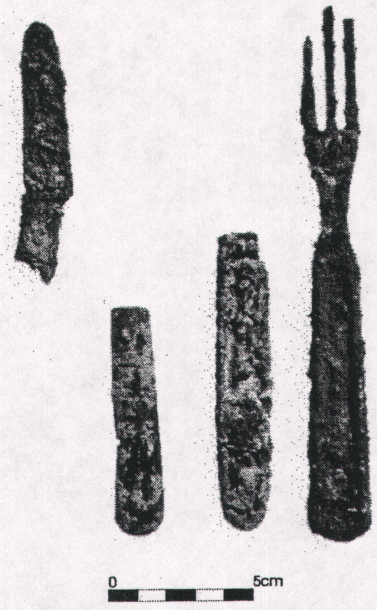


Figure 6.4: Cutlery recovered from Kirilovka excavations.

The highly fragmented remains of a fine bodied red earthenware vessel with a smooth dark-brown glaze were found in Feature 13. The painted overglaze decoration consists of fine patterns of 'pixilated' shapes in gold embellished with raised dots of orange, green, and blue. The shape and intended function of the original vessel are not identifiable. This decorative pattern has been observed on a teapot in a contemporary context, in a similar ware type, so it is possible that this vessel is of a similar kitchenware application.

Two glass canning jars are represented by fragments from this cluster. One is a rim fragment from an outer seal canning jar, and the other is a body fragment from a "Crown" style jar. That which remains of the side of the embossed crown and bands resemble Bird, Bird, and Corke's Smooth Lip series #15 (1971:33), as well as Toulouse's Crown (10) (1971:77)

Food Packaging

One complete "Golden Key Brand" aerated water bottle from the E.L. Drewry

company in Winnipeg is the only glass commercial food packaging that is identifiable as to contents and manufacturer. The light aqua bottle was cup-bottom moulded and has a crown finish.

Tin can fragments from this cluster are highly fragmentary, and therefore it can only be stated that at least two hole-in-cap and two open-top cans are present in the collected materials from this cluster.

Household Furnishings

A ferrous pull handle for a drawer or cupboard door, and five mirror glass fragments from two features were recovered from this cluster.

Heat and Light Artifacts

Part of the base of a small rectangular cast iron stove was recovered from the fill levels of Feature 13, likely representing deposition during or after house abandonment. The two remaining legs are each decorated with an embossed crane. Large fragments of cast-iron trim with cut out designs were recovered from the same feature as the stove base. In association with the stove parts are a small amount of stove coal and stove mica, indicating that the stove was likely discarded in its complete or nearly complete state.

Lamp chimney glass from at least three indoor style chimneys was recovered.

Cleaning and Maintenance Artifacts

A small sharpening stone and two fragments of washboard glass comprise this category

Clock / Watch Parts

Two brass watch or clock gears from separate features most likely represent commercially produced time pieces.

6.3.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Toiletry and Grooming

The remains of three combs were recovered from excavations in this cluster. One is ivory, or imitation ivory, and shows evidence of retouch by a sharp object. It is suggested that a number of teeth were carved away, leaving the spine as a handle. Only four large teeth remain at the upper end of the comb. The outer surface of the artifact is a deep yellow in color, while the surfaces that have been retouched are a cream color. The second comb is hard yellow plastic, and the third is represented only by a single tooth from a large black plastic comb.

Clothing

Of 98 textile scraps recovered from features in this cluster, the majority are cotton scraps (n=47) woven in twill and tabby weaves, as well as stocking weight knits. There are also 17 silk scraps in very fine tabby and twill weaves. Wool is less well represented, by only 15 fragments. Ten fragments are of unidentifiable fibres. The large majority of fibres in this cluster, cotton and silk, would have been purchased either as yarn or prepared textile.

Four shell buttons, one opaque blue glass button, one blue glass button with a metal shank, one opaque white glass button, and one opaque black glass button all resemble buttons used on finer garments such as shirts and ladies apparel. Eight ferrous wire and sheet clothing fasteners recovered include buckles and buckle parts, as well as wire strap fasteners and adjusters from overalls or suspenders.

Based on counts of the shoe parts retaining the toe of the outsole, there are at least 15 shoes represented in the collection from the southeast cluster. These include five nailed shoes, one turned, one stitched then nailed, five pegged, one metal pegged then nailed, one wood pegged and nailed, and one sewn then nailed. Also present is the heel of one screwed shoe, although this specimen does not have the intact toe required for inclusion in the minimum number of specimens count. One shoe each could be assigned to the men's, ladies', and children's categories.

In addition, cut fragments of sole and unidentifiable cut leather scrap indicate some leather manufacture or repair in this cluster.

Personal Adornment

One half of a blue glass bead, and one woman's brass 'solitaire' ring with a colourless glass 'stone' were recovered from this cluster.

Toys

Two porcelain dolls are represented in this cluster by a moulded arm (Figure 6.5) and a fragment from a painted head with black and orange details. One glass marble was also recovered.

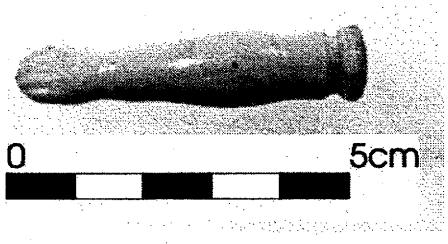


Figure 6.5: Porcelain doll arm from Southeast Concentration.

Medicine

Three embossed panels from one feature represent one bottle from Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller. Six patent/prescription style finishes (types 5, 10, 11, 14) may represent medicinal, or other household or personal product bottles. Five rectangular bases correspond in colour and provenience to these finishes. Among these bases there are three aqua, one colourless, and one manganese tinted.

Liquor

Whiskey, gin, wine, and beer bottles present in features from this cluster indicate the consumption of a variety of alcoholic beverages. Bottles include one dark brown turn moulded whiskey bottle, one grey and one aqua cup-bottom moulded whiskey flask,

one base and twelve body fragments from olive case bottles, and the bases of two wine style bottles. The single beer bottle is an aqua post-bottom moulded bottle made by the American Bottle Co.

6.3.3 **Miscellaneous Packaging** (Table 6.4)

Other Beverage Bottles

Two aqua bases, one circular and one oval, represent bottles likely used for indeterminate beverages. The latter base is of the same dimensions as the aqua whiskey flask also from this cluster.

Other Bottles

One very small brown chamfered-rectangular bottle with a cork stopper was found in Feature 42. A colorless bottle with a rounded back and six-paneled faceted front was recovered from Feature 16. A small colourless circular base with an unknown manufacturers' mark and a colourless square cup-bottom moulded base were also recovered from this cluster.

Table 6.4: Southeast Cluster: Bottle type by functional class.

Bottle Type		Total Vessels with Bases
Liquor	Whiskey	3
	Gin	1
	Wine	2
	Beer	1
Aerated Water		1
Other Beverage		2
Medicine Style		5
Other		4
Total		19

6.4 *Northwest Cluster*

6.4.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware

No ceramic tableware fragments were recovered from features in this cluster. The single article that clearly reflects any kind of dining behaviour is a blue and white enamelware tea cup found in privy Feature 22.

Food Preparation and Storage

Two enamelware vessels from the Northwest Cluster may have been used for both preparing and serving food products. These include a flat bottomed, shallow 'milk pan' and a large 'preserving kettle'.

One nearly complete stoneware jug and fragments from three other unidentified stoneware vessels were recovered. One fragment, a body sherd, has the remains of an impressed makers mark of unidentified origin. Two samples of coarse red earthenware from unidentified vessels were also found. A sheet metal plate from a grater was also found in Feature 26.

Food Packaging

Tin can fragments from the Northwest Cluster indicate the presence of at least one hole-in-cap style can in each of Features 22, 24, and 26. There are no examples of the double end seams that were, and are, used on open top or sanitary cans.

Heat and Light

A nearly complete colourless glass oil lamp base and reservoir were recovered from Feature 28. The two pieces display the popular 'Bulls-eye' pattern seen elsewhere in this site (Figure 6.6).

Other Household Tools

One brass thimble from this cluster is the only direct representation of clothing

manufacture or repair tools in the Kirilovka collection.

Figure 6.6: Bulls-eye style lamp base from Feature 28.

6.4.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Grooming

This category is represented by one piece of a broken black plastic hair comb.

Clothing

Nearly half of the 41 textile scraps recovered from this cluster are cotton (n=20), including 15 fragments of fine tabby weave and five indeterminate weave fragments. Twenty-one fragments are wool, woven in tabby and twill patterns from fine to coarse. The largest concentration of these fragments was found in Feature 26 (n=26).

Seven black glass buttons found in association in Feature 24 probably represent the remains of one garment discarded in the feature. Two white glass buttons were also recovered, one from Feature 24 and the other from Feature 26. Two ferrous wire artifacts have also been tentatively identified as parts of metal clothing fasteners such as

those found on overalls and suspenders.

A count of the total number of outsole toes present alone or as part of larger shoe sections indicates that there are at least four shoes present in the collection from this cluster, including three nailed and one pegged and nailed specimen.

Only one nearly complete boot, a ladies boot of nailed construction, was found in this cluster. Twenty-five footwear scraps were recovered from Features 26, 24, and 22. Of the total number, there are 3 heel fragments, 5 sole fragments, 14 upper fragments, one leather lace, one shoe nail, and one unidentifiable shoe scrap. Most of the scraps were found in Features 24 (n=15) and 26 (n=12) with only the single unidentifiable piece from Feature 22.

Personal Adornment

A man's plain brass ring, with a flat inner and rounded outer surface, was found in Feature 26.

Medicine

Part of an embossed panel from a Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller bottle was found in Feature 26.

Liquor

Only three bottles from this cluster indicate the consumption of beer and an unidentified hard liquor. The beer bottles include one post-bottom moulded brown glass base manufactured by the American Bottle Co., and a complete, unmarked light green beer style bottle with a crown finish. The unidentified liquor bottle parts are a base and body fragment from a brown, Owens machine manufactured, oval flask with remnants of a paper label (see Table 6.5 for summary of bottles).

Table 6.5: Northwest Cluster: Bottle type by functional class.

Bottle Type		Total Vessels with Bases
Liquor	Beer	2
	Unid Liquor	1
Medicine style		1
Total		4

6.5 *Northeast Cluster*

6.5.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware

The ceramic tableware collection from the Northeast Cluster is small enough so as to be less informative than those from the southern clusters. Equally small numbers of shards of porcelain, mould relief ironstone, transfer printed white earthenware and banded white earthenware were recovered. The only statement regarding vessel function that can be made is that of four vessels; two cups are represented by one porcelain handle and one ironstone body fragment.

Table 6.6: Northeast Cluster: Ceramic vessel frequency by ware type and decoration

Ware	# of Vessels	% of Total Vessels
Porcelain	1	25
Mould Relief Ironstone	1	25
Transfer Printed White Earthenware	1	25
Banded White Earthenware	1	25
Total	4	100

One base from a single glass tumbler was found in midden Feature 39. Also from this feature is a flat wooden cutlery handle.

Food Preparation and Storage

Two ceramic bowls, one a medium bowl in yellow ware and the other a large bowl in brown and yellow spatter glazed buff stoneware, are represented in the collection. In addition, there are two medium enamelware bowls, one enamelware flat-bottomed 'pudding pan', and a small saucepan or dipper. A large rim section indicates the presence of a large cast iron cooking pot.

Two stoneware food storage vessels are represented by fragments from Feature 19. One is a jug, and the second is an unidentified vessel represented by only a body fragment.

A total of four canning jars, represented by twenty-six pieces, were found in this cluster. Three have outer seal type closures, and are "Crown" jars, while one "Improved Gem" jar has a screw closure.

Food Packaging

A small, colourless, cup bottom moulded bottle from Feature 38 bears a label advertising the former contents as some kind of flavouring extract. An incomplete bitters bottle from Feature 19 may be placed in this category, or the personal medicinal or indulgences category. Bitters products were advertised to contain ingredients beneficial to one's health, but the regularly high alcohol content (as much as 40%) led to its frequent use as a recreational beverage (Wilson 1981:24).

Heat and Light

Rim and body fragments from at least one indoor lamp chimney and one heavier outdoor chimney were found in Features 37, 38, and 39.

Cast iron fragments from Feature 19 have scalloped surfaces and embossed decoration. It is likely that these pieces comprised part of a cylindrical, coal or wood burning heating stove such as those pictured in the 1910-11 Hudson's Bay Company catalogue (197), and the 1897 Sears Roebuck Consumer Guide (124-127)

Information and Business

The greatest representation of this category in the Kirilovka collection is present in the materials from the Northeast cluster. Artifacts relating to information and business activities include the base and finish of one cone-shaped, aqua ink bottle, the butt of a lead pencil with a brass crimp, and a small brass watch or clock gear. These artifacts were found in Features 38, 34, and 39 respectively.

Electrical Appliance Parts

Two artifacts recovered from Feature 18 appear to have had an application in providing electrical power. The first is a small brass and grey metal cup-shaped base with a hollow tube in its centre. It is believed to be the base of a battery. Secondly, a small carbon cylinder with one flat and one bluntly curved end may be part of a battery, or a carbon rod from an electric arc-light or similar appliance (Figure 6.7 below)

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Figure 6.7: Electrical power related artifacts from the Northeast Cluster.

Lock

A small, ferrous, keyed padlock recovered from Feature 18 is not particularly unusual in itself, but portrays a sense of private property uncharacteristic of the communalistic Doukhobor belief system.

6.5.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Toiletry and Grooming

One perfume bottle base from Feature 38 is from a product called "Florida Water". Two ointment jars with screw closures were also recovered from this feature. One has an embossed marking advertising the contents as "Vaseline". The other is unmarked, but is of similar style and dimension to the Vaseline jar. Adams, Gaw, and Leonhardy's 1975 report on artifacts from Silcott, Washington states that until 1908, cork stoppers were used on Vaseline jars, thereby dating the screw closure jar to post-1908 (1975:111)

Clothing

Textile fragments from the Northeast Cluster include 11 cotton fragments, 4 silk fragments, 4 wool scraps, three pieces of cotton-wool blend yarn, and 8 indeterminate textile scraps. Both tabby and twill weaves are used in the silk textiles, while the cotton fragments are twill only, and the wool specimens are knit and twill. The majority of these fragments (n=29) were recovered from Feature 39.

Clothing buttons retrieved include one incomplete four-hole bone button and one four-hole opaque white glass button.

A total of 10 shoes are represented in the collection from this cluster. Included in this are three nailed, one screwed, one turned, one pegged, three nailed and pegged, and one sewn and nailed specimen. Three ladies' and three children's shoes could be identified among those present. Of the shoes present, the standard screwed specimen is certainly machine made and commercially bought, while the ladies' stitched shoe and the child's turned shoe were also likely made off-site and purchased by a Doukhobor family.

Many cut leather scraps are present in the collection, comprising 77% of the total of 111 unidentifiable leather scraps. Three other pieces appear to have been sewn and then later cut, again indicating shoe repair or recycling.

Toys

Half of the barrel and chamber of a cast metal toy pistol was recovered from Feature 18 (Figure 6.8). The shape of this pistol resembles very closely that of three toy pistols embossed with the name "Navy" in Best's American based discussion of cast iron toy pistols. The three were produced in 1910, 1925, and 1930 (Best 1973:104-5). However, as there were a great number and variety of cast iron toy pistols produced in the first decades of the twentieth century, it is impossible to ascribe the Kirilovka specimen to a date or manufacturer in the absence of a manufacturer's mark. The most interesting thing about this artifact is that it displays some disregard for the important Doukhobor tenet of pacifism in the upbringing of children. One moulded porcelain shard with black overglaze painting was recovered from Feature 18. The shape of the piece is suggestive of the back of a doll's head.

Figure 6.8: Cast iron toy pistol piece from Northeast Cluster.

Medicine

The highest concentration of medicinal bottles associated with a cluster at this site is present in the collection from the Northeast cluster. Two complete bottles from "Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller", both aqua, were recovered from Feature 38 (Figure 6.9). In addition, a complete colourless pharmaceutical bottle from the drug store owned by J.A. Stewart of Rosthern was also found in this feature. There is no indication of the bottle's original contents. Finally, the base and finish of a small vial, aqua in color, were recovered from the surface of midden Feature 39.

Unmarked medicine style bottles include one complete colourless rectangular

bottle, and a colourless marked base. All of the medicine style bottles were manufactured in cup bottom moulds.

Figure 6.9: Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller bottle from Feature 38.

Liquor

Liquor bottles from the Northeast cluster include one Owen's machine manufactured whiskey bottle from the "Western Commercial Co." in Saskatoon (Figure 6.10a), a turn moulded wine bottle with a crest reading "Francaise", an indeterminate aqua turn moulded liquor bottle, and two complete bottles and two bases from olive green case bottles. One of these bottles bears a label advertising the contents as "Geneva Gin", a product manufactured in Montreal and distributed by the Hudson's Bay Company (Figure 6.10b). Two post-bottom moulded beer bottle bases, one from the American Bottle Co. and the other from William Franzen and Sons complete the collection of liquor bottles.

Figure 6.10a and 6.10b: Whiskey and gin bottles from the Northeast Cluster.

6.5.3 **Miscellaneous Packaging** (Table 6.7)

Unidentified Beverage Bottles

One complete green dip-moulded bottle with a type 7 crown finish and turn-moulded shoulders and neck was found in Feature 38. It is likely from an indeterminate beverage. In addition, bases likely from beverage bottles based on size and colour include one aqua and one brown Owens Machine manufactured base, and one brown turn moulded base.

Table 6.7: Northeast Cluster: Bottle type by functional class.

Bottle Type		# Vessels by bases	Notes
Liquor	Whiskey	1	
	Gin	4	
	Wine	1	
	Beer	2	
	Unid Liquor	1	Total Liquor: 9
Unidentified Beverage		4	1 complete, 3 base
Medicine		5	
Toiletry		3	1 perfume, 2 ointment
Other		1	ink
Total		22	

6.6 *Feature 72*

6.6.1 **Household Artifacts**

Food Preparation and Storage

The entire ceramic collection from Feature 72 consists of a small body or shoulder sherd from an unidentified buff bodied stoneware vessel with smooth cream coloured glaze inside and out.

Two canning jars, one aqua and one manganese tint, are represented by the fragments from Feature 72. The latter has an outer seal type finish, and both are "Crown" jars.

Large enamelware vessels include two large cooking pots and a teapot. The circular base of a cast iron pot, and a rim fragment from the same or a similar vessel were also found.

A complete cast iron pot with a 'ginger jar' like shape constricted at the base and widening at round shoulders, was recovered intact from this feature (Figure 6.11). Although no markings remain, this pot is identical in form to, although smaller than a

soup pot in the Doukhobor material culture collection of the Glenbow Museum. The museum specimen is known to have been manufactured in and brought from Russia by Doukhobor immigrants, and it is suggested that the origin of the smaller Kirilovka example is the same.

Figure 6.11: Russian soup pot from privy Feature 72.

Heat and Light

Two lamp bases, represented by two fragments, appear to be of a 'Bulls-eye' style that recurs elsewhere in the site collection. One lamp base part recovered from level 11 of this feature is the fragmented, narrow junction between the main base and upper stalk, in bright green translucent glass. A 'domed oval' pattern is present. Gerald Stevens provides a photograph of a complete emerald green Bulls-eye style lamp base, referring to the color as 'long-popular' (1967:ii).

The second base part from this level is the corner of a square footed base similar to that from Feature 28, but with a higher, sharper heel and different, although indeterminate, design in the centre of each panel.

Lamp chimney glass of one indoor lamp chimney and at least one thicker, outdoor lamp were recovered.

A cast metal plate embossed with the word "CRESCENT" surrounded by a floral

design is identified as part of the body of a stove of some kind (Figure 6.12). A large ferrous metal and brass railway style lantern, without intact lenses, was recovered from this feature (Figure 6.12). It is square in profile with circular openings on three sides and a larger keyhole shaped opening on one side. A brass plate on the top surface of the lantern indicates a manufacturer in Montreal, but other writing is illegible.

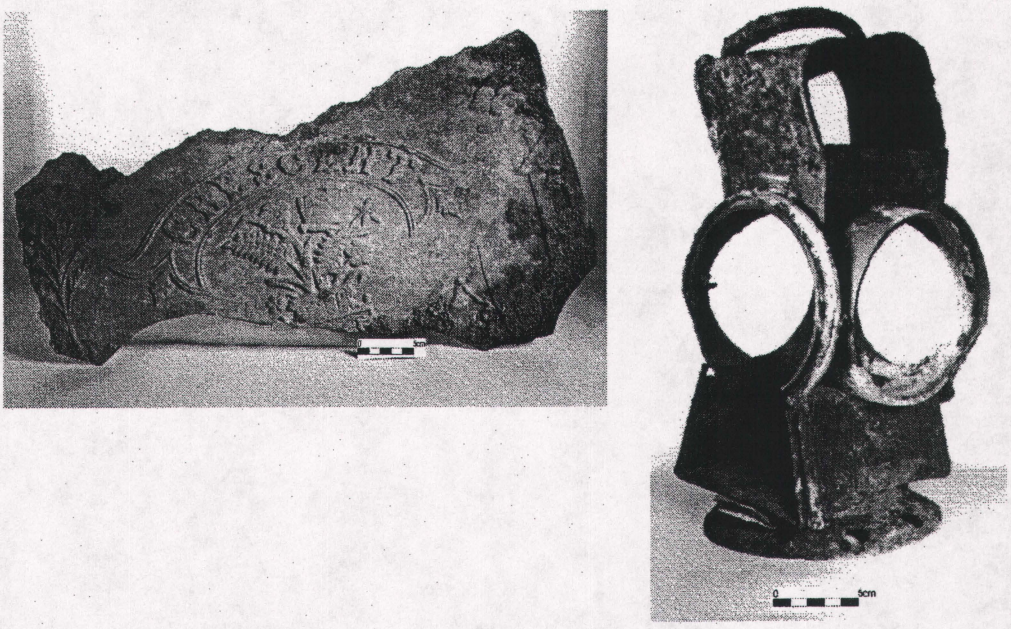

Figure 6.12: Heat and light artifacts from Feature 72: stove part and lantern.

Food Packaging

Evidence for hole-in-cap style cans includes two cap-on ends with hole-in-cap in place, one with six holes punched around the cap; one cap; and one cap seam. Other fragments likely represent this type of can, although they do not retain parts of the closure. Open top and other styles of vessel are represented by seven fragments from vessels with both interlocked side seams and double end seams, and 35 double end seam fragments. In addition, at least two large fragments are from one can with interlocked side seam and double end seams, bearing a painted or lithographed geometric design in black and red.

Slip lid style cans are represented by one slip lid fragment, and two can body fragments with interlocked side seams, one with a double seam base, with rolled in top edges designed to take a slip lid. One doughnut shaped metal lug from a can such as a paint or lard pail was also recovered.

6.6.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Grooming

A round-bodied enamelware chamber pot with a flaring rim and blue and white spatter enamel was recovered from this feature (Figure 6.13).

An opaque white glass jar with a continuous thread screw-cap closure manufactured to contain some kind of cream or ointment was recovered from level 7 of Feature 72. Embossed decoration on the exterior surface of the vessel consists of four flat oval surfaces separated by four 'columnar' shapes.

Figure 6.13: Enameled chamber pot from privy Feature 72.

Clothing

Only five textile scraps, in fine cotton tabby weave, were recovered from this feature. Parts of two shoes are represented in collected materials from this feature. These include a man's shoe with a nailed and metal-pegged sole, and the squared toe of a nailed and wooden-pegged shoe.

Infant Care

One almost complete infant feeding bottle was recovered from the lowest level of Feature 72 (Figure 6.14). The bottle was manufactured in a three piece mould, with the 'back' body surface flattened so that it may lay on its side. The words "IMPROVED / FEEDING BOTTLE" are embossed on the front/top surface of the bottle.

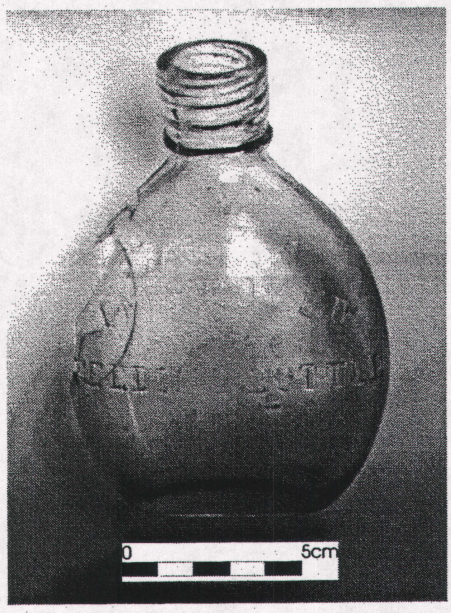

Figure 6.14: Infant feeding bottle from Feature 72.

Medicine

Several complete medicinal bottles were recovered from this feature. Two retain labels from specific products. The first is a liniment bottle with a paper label advertising its contents as containing largely alcohol and opium (Figure 6.15a). The other labelled bottle has embossed markings indicating that it contained a product manufactured by a Chicago company, but the complete label is missing. The suffix "...leber" on one of the incomplete embossed words suggest that the contents may have been some kind of liver oil to be used as a dietary supplement.

Two pharmaceutical bottles with embossed measuring scales on the side panels in ounces and 'cc's have a stylized "3" indicating a volume measure in fluid ounces

Figure 6.15b).

Eleven small, colourless unmarked bottles from Feature 72 are in the rectangular shape and style frequently used for medicinal products. They may also have contained toiletry products, household chemicals or food products. The rectangular bases of another eight such small bottles were recovered, including five colourless, two aqua, and one manganese tint. All rectangular medicine style bottles were produced in cup-bottom moulds.

Three complete bottles and one base were originally identified as soda water bottles due to their similarity in shape to the 'soda water' category 'h' as defined by Rex Wilson (1981:110). Later investigation of the "DR SBH & CO PR" base marking led to these bottles' identification as Peruna bottles. Peruna was "a popular catarrhic tonic" (113) available for sale in the "Patent Medicines" section of the 1910-11 Hudson's Bay Company Autumn and Winter Catalogue for $0.70 per bottle. All specimens were recovered from the lowest levels of Feature 72 (Figure 6.15c-d).

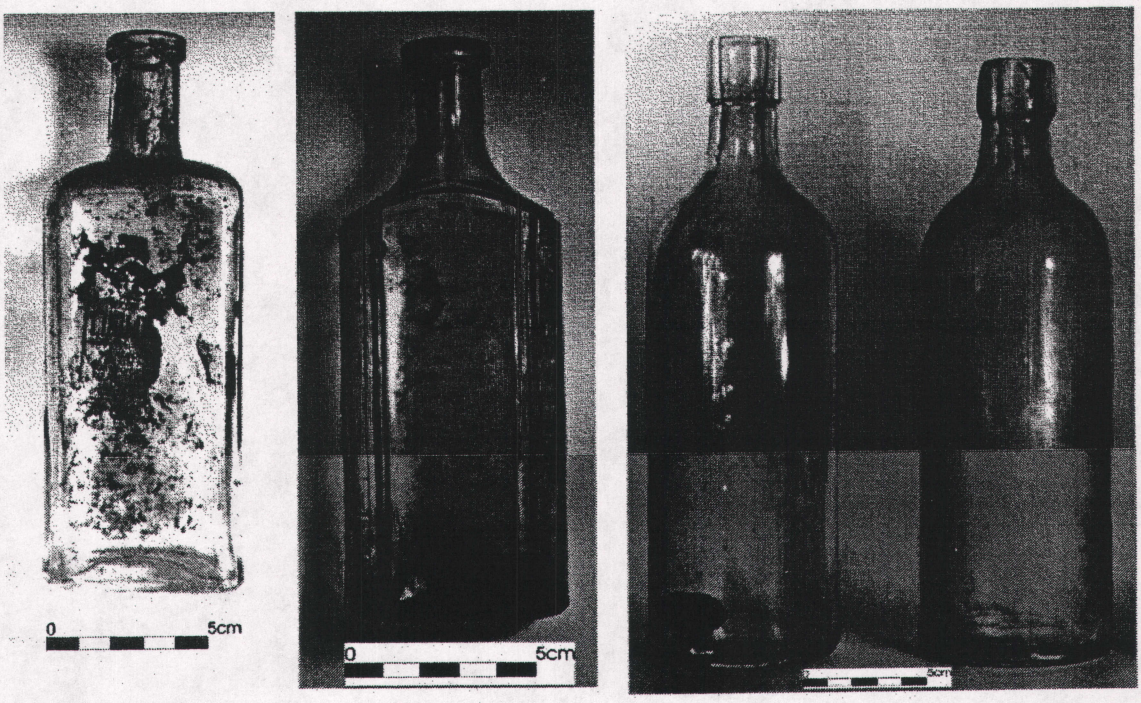

Figure 6.15 a-d: Medicine bottles from Feature 72: liniment, graduated 6 ounce prescription, Peruna (machine made and mould blown).

Of the three complete bottles, two are colorless and one is light aqua in color. The former were manufactured using a cup bottom mould, while the latter bears the basal scar and ghost seams of the Owens automatic machine, as well as mould seams over the finish and lip, and horizontally below the finish. The single base is aqua colored, and was also manufactured in an Owens machine.

Liquor

A variety of liquor is represented by the bottles from Feature 72. One cup-bottom moulded "Imperial Quart" whiskey flask was recovered. Olive green case bottles are represented by two complete specimens and four bases, as well as loose finishes and body fragments. One such body fragment bears a less complete version of the label present on the gin bottle from Feature 34 in the Northeast cluster. Bases from three wine style bottles were also found.

Beer bottles are more heavily represented in this feature than anywhere else in the site, with a total of 12 bottles. One complete brown bottle made by the American Bottle Co., and five brown and one aqua base from the same manufacturer, represent beer style bottles. One complete bottle and one base were manufactured by William Franzen and Son, one base advertises the Wooster company of Wooster, Ohio, and a single aqua base was made by the Adolphus Busch Glass Mfg. Co. of St. Louis. Finally, one complete beer style bottle bears the marking of an unidentified manufacturer. All beer bottles were manufactured in post-bottom moulds.

6.6.3 **Miscellaneous Packaging** (Table 6.8)

Unidentified Beverage Bottles

Three complete green and one complete olive turn moulded bottle, as well as one green cup-bottom moulded bottle are all of sizes and styles indicative of beverages, although the original contents are not known (Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16: Turn moulded green beverage-style bottles from Feature 72.

Eight bases with unidentified markings recovered from this feature include five circular aqua bases the size of beer and other beverage bottles, and three oval bases - one colorless, one aqua, and one manganese - that may represent part of liquor bottles. Three unmarked beverage bottle bases include one circular, green, turn moulded base, and one green circular and one colorless oval base of unidentified manufacturing method.

Table 6.8: Feature 72: Bottle type by functional class.

Bottle Type		# Vessels by Bases
Liquor	Whiskey	1
	Gin	6
	Wine	3
	Beer	12
Unidentified Beverage		15
Medicine		27
Total		64

6.7 *Feature 29*

6.7.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware

One porcelain vessel rim, with an interior ledge to support a lid, represents the presence of a vessel such as a sugar bowl.

Food Preparation and Storage

One body fragment from a crock or jug is the only fragment representing food storage containers. The flattened body of an enamelware tea or coffee pot indicates food preparation and service activity.

6.7.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Clothing

The square toe of a child's turned or welted shoe sole, and one sole toe with oval stitch holes around the outside edge, are the only remains of clothing in this feature.

6.8 *Feature 20*

6.8.1 **Household Artifacts**

Tableware

One underglaze painted body sherd with a green over red floral design is the only ceramic object that clearly represents tableware. An irregular porcelain shard with a broken off handle attachment point cannot clearly be assigned to a functional category.

Food Preparation and Storage

One body fragment from an aqua canning jar retains part of an embossed marking indicating that it was a "Mason's Patent" jar.

Heat and Light

A thick, moulded, manganese tint glass handle closely resembles that of a

"Safety" style handle from a Bulls-eye style hand lamp (Thuro 1976:270)

6.8.2 **Personal Artifacts**

Clothing

Large sections of shoes and shoe soles from this feature include 11 nailed shoes, and one ladies turned sole that was likely part of a lace-up boot with a wooden heel. The latter specimen is the only one that would necessarily have been purchased off site. Three shoes were identified as men's shoes, while two are ladies' and one is part of a child's shoe.

Other leather footwear scraps from this feature include 56 upper fragments, 7 sole fragments, 3 heel pieces, and 52 unidentified shoe scraps with nail holes.

Medicine

One complete medicine style bottle from this feature has embossed panels advertising "Dr. A Fowler's Extract" as the contents. No information about this product has been found. The base and one body section of a small colourless vial were also retrieved from Feature 20.

6.9 *Floral Remains From Kirilovka*

After flotation of bulk soil samples, as described in chapter 4, the organic materials from fourteen samples were sent to Donalee Deck of the University of Winnipeg for identification. Deck completed identification and photography, and all statistics were provided in a written report (Deck 1998).

Varying numbers of seeds per individual species, and differences in sample sizes presented some problems for comparison within the data. Results presented as density per litre of seeds per sample offer the most standardized results, and therefore the most appropriate for comparison between feature clusters. Statistical testing of similarity, however, could not be performed using these results due to the low density value in many of the categories.

The following observations regarding spatial distribution were made by Deck in the report accompanying the sorted and identified seeds:

> When the data was [sic] compiled by household, the northeast household (NE) had the highest quantity of seeds followed by the southwest (SW), unassigned (UA) and then northwest (NW) households. However, when comparing the households based on occurrence of seed types, the SE household showed the highest variety (Deck 1998:7).

A total of 21 different varieties of seed were found in the thousands of specimens recovered from flotation samples and excavated materials (Table 6.9). The numbers of seeds recovered will be presented and discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Table 6.9: Seed species recovered from Kirilovka (FcNs-1)

Incidental Wild	Cultural Wild	Cultivated	Imported
Carex	*Amelanchier alnifolia*	*Linum*	*Ficus*
Juniperus	*Fragaria*	*Papaver?*	*Papaver*
Chenopodiaceae	*Prunus pensylvanica*	*Cucurbita*	*Prunus* (plum)
Polygonum	*Prunus virginiana*	*Helianthus*	*Vitis*
Rumex	*Rosa*		Peanut
	Rubus		
	Viburnum		
	Crataegus		

6.10 *Faunal Remains from Kirilovka*

A total of 1690 identifiable faunal elements were recovered from Kirilovka, including 1310 belonging to food animals. These include rabbit (n=96), turkey (n=19), goose (n=9), fish (n=429), sheep (17), chicken (624), cow (115), and suid (1) elements.

6.10.1 **Small Bird, Mammal, and Fish**

Domestic Chicken

Domestic chicken remains at Kirilovka are the species with the highest total frequency throughout the site. Chicken remains were present in at least small amounts in all four clusters, as well as Feature 72.

The highest concentration of chicken remains, as with bovine remains, was in the Southwest cluster of features at the site. Remains were present in Features 56, 7, 9, 4, and 5. Within feature 56, the remains were recovered in a concentrated deposit between 100 and 160cm below surface, including cut marks likely caused by both butchering and consumption or cooking (McKeand 1997:79). No MNI was calculated for Feature 7, where cut marks on forelimb and hind limb elements suggest butchering activity. McKeand calculated an MNI of 2 individuals for Feature 9, in which the only modified element is a burned rib (1997:80). Two individuals, and one burned element were also recovered from Feature 4. A total of at least 9 individuals are present in this cluster's collection (22.5 lbs)

Only one feature in the Northwest cluster, Feature 26, contained chicken remains. McKeand calculated and MNI for this feature of 2 individuals (5 lbs)

Small amounts of remains were present in Features 39 and 34 of the Northeast cluster. The only element from the former is an immature humerus. Although element counts suggest the presence of only one individual, the presence of mature and immature bones suggests at least two birds (5 lbs)

Two features in the Southeast cluster produced chicken remains. Two pelvic specimens from Feature 42 suggest the presence of at least 2 individuals (McKeand 1997:81), found within the lowest excavation level. McKeand has calculated an MNI of 2 for remains in Feature 13, all recovered in level 5 of the excavation. There is evidence of at least two individual birds when the cluster is considered as a whole (5 lbs)

Eighty eight chicken elements were also recovered from Feature 72. The presence of 3 right scapulae suggests three individuals.

Goose

Goose remains at Kirilovka consist of one individual located in the Southwest household, concentrated mainly in Feature 9. Cut marks on the distal end of the tibiotarsus suggest processing for use as food. Remains are all post cranial.

Turkey

Turkey remains (n=14) are concentrated in Feature 7 of the southwest cluster. The presence of two complete right tarsometatarsals indicates the presence of at least two individuals. Cut marks are present on a left humerus, likely produced during butchering for use as food (McKeand 1997:80) (17 lbs)

One other large game bird, possibly turkey, is represented by a left and right tarsometatarsus, the left with cut marks, in Feature 72 (8.5 lbs).

Rabbit

Rabbit remains were recovered from all four clusters on the site of Kirilovka. Due to the small size of these animals, it is unlikely that sharing between households would have occured, unless in times of extreme economic distress. Faunal analysis of any animals did not make clear whether individuals could be recognized by refitting across features or clusters. For the time being, each cluster will be viewed as a separate entity.

Rabbit is poorly represented in the Northeast cluster, by only one lumbar vertebrae (1.75 lbs). Similarly, the Northwest cluster produced only 4 right metacarpals (1.75 lbs). Hind limb elements from the Southeast cluster, as with those previously discussed, suggest the presence of only a single animal in level 5 of Feature 13 (1.75 lbs).

The greatest cluster of rabbit remains was recovered from the Southwest household, with the greatest number of remains in Feature 56. Three left ulnae present in this feature indicate the disposal of the remains of three individuals. Other rabbit remains in Features 5 and 9 of the Southwest cluster may represent parts of the same

individuals or others (5.25 lbs).

Fish

The largest quantity of fish remains present at Kirilovka consisted of concentrations of scales. In the Northwest cluster only Feature 26 produced remains from one indeterminate fish, one northern pike, one sturgeon (represented by two scutes) and three walleye, identified by the recovery of three left operculi. Feature 15A and 15B of the Southeast cluster produced the remains of at least one indeterminate fish and one walleye, the latter represented only by scales. The southwest cluster, Feature 9 specifically, yielded the remains of at least one indeterminate fish. Elements from one northern pike were found in Feature 72.

Due to the small size of fish, it is unlikely that sharing occurred between households of individual animals. Therefore, although remains are scant, the presence of each species at a household is considered to be a specific individual.

Price's 1985 article does not provide average meat weights for fish species consumed by humans, so weight information for the three fish species found at Kirilovka was taken from Scott and Crossman's comprehensive 1973 publication on Canadian freshwater fishes. Whole weight for lake sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*), the only sturgeon species listed as present in the North Saskatchewan River, ranges from 10-80 lbs (83). Northern Pike (*Esox lucius*), common in the region of Kirilovka, may weigh between 1.5 and 20 lbs (358-9). Walleye (*Stizostedion vitreum*) may weigh up to 10 lbs, although those caught by anglers usually weigh 1-3 lbs (771).

6.10.2 **Large Mammal**

Sheep

Sheep remains were present in the Northwest and Southwest clusters at Kirilovka, as well as in the privy Feature 72. Feature 26 of the Northwest cluster contained the forelimb and hind limb remains of one individual, with no marks left by butchering. Within the Southwest cluster, Feature 7 produced the greatest number of

sheep remains, representing one individual, including limb elements with cut marks suggestive of butchering (), and cranial fragments with cut marks suggestive of the skinning of the head. The skull was also sawn in order to gain access to the brain (McKeand 1997:79). Nearby Feature 9 produced only one fragment. Similarly, one partial element with cut marks was present in Feature 72, located near the Southeast cluster.

Due to the size of sheep, it is possible that the remains from Kirilovka represent only one animal shared among households. The total element count from the entire site does not suggest the presence of multiple animals, but the patterns of meat distribution, if shared, cannot be determined from this small sample (40 lbs).

Suid Remains

One right ascending ramus from a pig mandible, recovered from level 3 of Feature 28, suggests the presence of a single animal (135 lbs).

Bovine Remains

A total of 115 cow elements were recovered from all clusters as well as Feature 72 at Kirilovka. Based on the presence of right distal radii, it is likely that three individuals are represented by the remains at this site (900 lbs).

Bovine remains in the Northwest cluster are poorly represented, by only two elements - a mandibular fragment and tooth.

Within the Southwest cluster, bovine remains were found in features 56, 7, 6, 9, 4, and 5. Elements in each feature displayed evidence of butchering, including cut marks and sawn elements (McKeand 1997:79). Specimens from several body parts were recovered, including forelimb, rib, vertebrae, hind limb, innominate and mandibular. Specimens from all but the latter show evidence of cultural modification. Within Features 9 and 56, remains are concentrated in the upper levels, suggesting secondary deposition with fill from another part of the household area. Feature 4 yielded bovine remains as deep as level 7, possibly indicating a different pattern of disposal in this

feature or a later period of fill to surface level.

Features 26 and 28 produced the bovine remains from the Northwest cluster. These include sawn and cut vertebral and rib fragments in the former feature.

The Southeast cluster's bovine remains were recovered only from Feature 15 and 13, consisting of vertebral and rib fragments.

Excavation of Feature 72 produced vertebral, rib, and forelimb elements with sawing and cut marks.

Distribution of elements between the households at this site does not suggest any specific pattern of sharing with respect to meat distribution, although the sample is too small to make a conclusive statement of this kind (total n=115). Remains from the Southwest cluster represent cranial, forelimb, hind limb, pelvic, and vertebral fragments, suggesting that the entire animal was used at this location.

6.10.3 **Non-food Domestic Animals**

Aside from incidental rodent and bird species recovered from Kirilovka, three other non food animal species are present in the faunal assemblage. These include the nearly complete skeleton of a cat in Feature 20's rocky upper level of fill, horse elements in the fill of Feature 28 with harness parts associated, and elements from a domestic dog in the same feature. These animals most likely represent the post abandonment disposal of dead work animals and pets (see McKeand 1997:81).

Chapter 7
Intrasite and Intersite Comparison

7.1 *Discussion and Comparison of Cluster Assemblages*

7.1.1 **Household Ceramic Tableware**

For the present analysis, ceramic tablewares are divided into ware type and method of decoration. Differences in ware type can indicate differences in purchase price of ceramics, as porcelain is generally more expensive than less vitrified white earthenware. Identification of patterns can help to indicate whether tableware was bought in matched sets, or as individual pieces from open stock.

Examination of Canadian catalogues from 1901-1912 (Eaton's Spring and Summer 1901:166-7; HBCo Autumn and Winter 1910-11:176; Woodward's 1912:78) indicate price differences only between decorated porcelain, decorated "semi-porcelain" (indicating less vitrified white bodied wares), and undecorated or moulded ironstone. In all three catalogues, porcelain tableware sets and pieces are the most expensive available. For example, the Eaton's 1901 catalogue offers a 100 piece dinner set of "Ohme's fine German china" for $20.90 (Eaton's Spring and Summer 1901:166), and fruit plates of the same set for $1.35 per dozen. Decorated English semi-porcelain is sold in a 100 piece dinner set for $8.25, with fruit plates for 55c per dozen. Open stock of plain, or "Wheat" or "Astro" embossed pattern white ironstone made by J.G. Meakin is sold at a price of 45c per dozen for fruit plates (Eaton's Spring and Summer 1901:167). Similar patterns are present in the Hudson's Bay Co. 1910-11 catalogue, in which decorated "Grindley Porcelain Dinnerware" is available in a 98 piece dinner set for $16.90, and English semi-porcelain sets are priced at $5.85 to $18.75. Finally, the Woodward's 1912 catalogue lists Limoges china (porcelain) 97 piece sets at $15.00 to $45.00, while sets of decorated English semi-porcelain are sold for $6.95 - $15.00 (Watt 1977:78). The nature of the decorative patterns present on these pieces is difficult to discern from the catalogue pictures, although most appear to be transfer printed patterns,

some with gilt edges, used on both porcelain and other white wares. The Woodward's 1912 catalogue lists blue-banded wares in the same price range as other decorated semi-porcelains.

The extremely small sample available from the Northeast cluster, and lack of ceramic tableware in the Northwest, prevents the use of these samples in comparison. In both the Southeast and Southwest clusters, the assemblages are dominated by non-porcelain, decorated white wares including ironstone and earthenware. Porcelain is less well represented in both cases, but slightly higher in frequency in the Southwest cluster (see Table 7.1).

The collection of different decorative patterns present suggests that pieces were not acquired as parts of sets, but as individual pieces. Within the Southwest cluster eleven transfer print designs are present on seventeen fragments, and four different banded patterns are present. Within the Southeast cluster, nine transfer print patterns are present. The fact that there are nearly as many different decorative forms present as there are vessels suggests that matched sets of dinnerware were not among the food serving assemblage of the Kirilovka Doukhobors. Samples in the other clusters and unassigned features are too small to indicate anything about ceramic purchase within the corresponding clusters.

Table 7.1: Kirilovka ceramic tableware frequency by ware type and decoration.

	Southwest		**Southeast**		**Northeast**	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Porcelain	5	19.23	2	13.33	1	25
Transfer Printed Ironstone	2	7.69	5	33.33	0	0
Mould Relief Ironstone	0	0	1	6.67	1	25
Transfer Printed Earthenware	9	34.62	4	26.67	1	25
Painted White Earthenware	5	19.23	0	0	0	0
Banded White Earthenware	5	19.23	3	20	1	25
Total	26	100	15	100	4	100

The ratio of individual size dishes to larger serving and preparation containers made of both white ceramic, stoneware, and enamelled metal was compared for the different clusters in an attempt to demonstrate if there appeared to be a difference between clusters at the site in dinner table behaviour - whether it was more likely that individuals ate from their own bowls and plates, or whether the more traditional pattern of larger communal serving dishes was followed. Again, because of the small sampling, results must be considered inconclusive at this time. The results are presented in table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Ratio of individual tableware to large preparation/serving vessels.

Cluster	Individual Dishes	Large Dishes	Total
Northeast	5	7	1:1.4
Northwest	1	2	1:2
Southeast	18	0	18:0
Southwest	27	3	9:1

The above table indicates that in the southern clusters, much higher ratios of individual serving size dishes to larger serving dishes were recovered. The meaning of this finding may be interpreted in many ways, including those concerning differential sample sizes and feature types excavated in each cluster. Unfortunately, however, the numbers of vessels are too small to take a comparative representative sample of features from each cluster for comparison. If it is culturally significant, it is believed that a lower ratio of individual size dishes would indicate a higher level of family level communistic activity, as in such cases large pots and bowls were used for serving food more commonly than individual ceramic dishes.

7.1.2 **Food**

7.1.2.1 Floral Remains

A great many, and great variety of local fruit species were present in the floral collection, as Deck states:

> [l]ocally available fleshy fruits were the most dominant type of plant resource represented in the flotation samples. These included raspberry, strawberry, cranberry, saskatoon, pin cherry and choke cherry. Seeds from *Rosa* (Rose hips) were also present and have recorded uses as both a food and beverage (Shay 1980). *Crataegus* (Hawthorn) can be used for jam, marmalade, or jelly (Deck 1998:7).

Although Deck does not specify the species of *Fragaria* present, that most likely based on the environment near Kirilovka is *Fragaria virginiana*, the smooth wild strawberry. Looman and Best state that this is "The commonest strawberry; in low spots on prairie, open woodlands, and moist areas; throughout the Prairie Provinces" (Looman and Best 1979:443). Similarly the species of *Rubus* present is most likely *Rubus idaeus L. var. aculeatissimus*, the wild red raspberry, that is "[p]robably the most common raspberry; in shady wooded places, on burned-over woodlands, bluffs, riverbanks; throughout the Prairie Provinces" (Looman and Best 1979:458).

All of the fruit species discussed above were likely available close to the village. The coulee to the northeast of the village and the nearby North Saskatchewan River valley would be suitable for the growth of saskatoon berries (Looman and Best 1979:438), wild strawberries (Looman and Best 1979:443), chokecherries(Looman and Best 1979:455), wild red raspberries (Looman and Best 1979:458), and high-bush cranberry (Looman and Best 1979:675). This environment was also suitable for pin-cherries (Looman and Best 1979:455), although they evidently did not grow in abundance near the village, as one local informant remembered picking these fruits from a location across the river (Nosteroff 1993). According to secondary documentary sources, a large proportion of the Doukhobor diet consisted of fruit and vegetable products prepared and preserved in different ways. Koozma Tarasoff provides a brief description which portrays some of the diversity of these products within Doukhobor

diets:

> wild berries, which included pincherries, raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, saskatoons, and strawberries were a delicacy. Mushrooms, too. Coffee was made by roasting barley or wheat, while tea was prepared by boiling raspberry stalks in water. The most fascinating non-intoxicating beverage that the Doukhobors made was *chipavoy kvas* - the fermentings that come from the sprouts of barley and rye (Tarasoff 1982:57-8).

According to Tarasoff's description, the Saskatchewan settlers utilized both wild and domesticated plant resources regularly.

A small number of exotic species were also present in the Kirilovka collection. According to Deck:

> [i]mported foods were represented by fig and grape seeds and plum pits. Poppys [sic] are an introduced species and may have also been imported (Deck 1998:7).

The fig, grape, and plum seeds are interesting in the context of Kirilovka's history. It is likely that these seeds came to the site in the form of dried fruit - figs, prunes, and raisins. It is noted by Tarasoff that part of the aid received by the Doukhobors in the early years on the prairies consisted of a large quantity of dried fruit from a philanthropic organization in California (Tarasoff 1982:66). In addition, these products could likely be purchased at local stores. Poppy seeds were bought, as well as brought from Russia, or even grown in the dry, light soil of the village gardens. The presence of poppy seeds is not surprising considering the popularity of poppy seeds as a flavouring in much Eastern European cooking. Peanut shells, belonging to another species not found wild or cultivated locally, were recovered from excavated contexts and catalogued separately.

The only seeds present in the flotation samples that unequivocally suggest a cultivated plant food are of the genus *Cucurbita*, to which pumpkins and other squashes belong. The seed remains recovered from features during excavation also include sunflower seeds, also likely cultivated at or near the site.

A surprising finding among the non-fruit species at Kirilovka is the paucity of flax seeds. As linen manufacture is a considered to be important in traditional

Doukhobor craft production, one would expect archaeological remains to reflect the processing of flax through the presence of the durable seed of this plant. As the Kirilovka Village File notes the cultivation of flax at Kirilovka as of 1905, it is likely that if flax was grown for fibre at this site, then processing was occurring off site. As the process of retting the fibres required soaking in water, processing probably took place in a nearby stream, or at the bank of the North Saskatchewan River. The charred flax seeds may represent use of whole or only partially milled seeds in bread.

Other seeds present in the collection, including goosefoot, dock, knotweed, pigweed, and sedges, are considered to be incidental in the flotation samples, and likely entered the archaeological context in surface fill deposited in the features.

An intrasite comparison of the seed remains was considered desirable, in order to better understand the distribution of imported species versus wild and domestic local species. In order to compensate for differences in sample size inherent in such values as abundance, density of seeds per litre was used as the basis for comparison. The average density of seeds per cluster was calculated using all features containing each given species. As the number of seeds per fruit varies between different species, the seed types can only be compared within each species across the different spatial clusters. Therefore, within each species the excavated feature cluster densities were ranked 1 to 4, 1 being the cluster with highest average density and 4 the lowest. Then, the average density ranking was calculated for each feature cluster. If the average density of exotic species for a cluster is higher than the density ranking for local species, it follows that the associated household used more exotic species than local species, relative to other clusters. The results, presented in Table 7.3, show that there is no significant difference in the average ranking for each cluster between the imported and the local species. This indicates that the density of seeds in deposits is affected by other factors than differential use of food products within households.

Table 7.3: Floral remains: Frequency and ranking by species and cluster.

Imported

Specimen	SW	Rank	NW	Rank	NE	Rank	F72	Rank
Ficus	44	4	746.67	1	521.78	3	612.38	2
Papaver	2299	1	277.33	2	97	3	57.14	4
Plum	7.91	1	4.67	3	0	4	7.14	2
Vitis sp.	12	4	314.67	2	59.56	3	452.85	1
Vitis v.	41.41	3	289.33	2	25.66	4	1807.62	1
Average Rank		2.6		2		3.4		2

Wild and Domestic

Specimen	SW	Rank	NW	Rank	NE	Rank	F72	Rank
Saskatoon	26	2	85.33	1	2	3	0	4
Hawthorn	15.09	1	0	4	0	4	0	4
Squash	0	4	26	1	0	4	16.67	2
Strawberry	2341.46	4	29910.67	1	4707.56	2	3544.76	3
Prunus p.	136.67	1	74.67	2	24	3	18.57	4
Prunus sp.	28.34	3	454.67	1	6.67	4	81.19	2
Prunus v.	5	3	82	1	1.33	4	42.86	2
Rose	67.59	1	0	4	0	4	2.86	2
Raspberry	687.17	4	4464	3	5648	2	7683.09	1
Cranberry	2	2	547.33	1	0	4	0	4
Average Rank		2.5		1.9		3.4		2.8

7.1.2.2 Faunal Remains

The following table presents the weights of small animal meat represented by the faunal remains recovered from each feature cluster.

Table 7.4: Small mammal, fish, and bird meat weight per cluster (weight in lbs).

	NW	NE	SW	SE
Chicken	5	5	22.5	5
Goose	0	0	5	0
Turkey	0	0	17	0
Rabbit	1.75	1.75	5.25	1.75
Fish	12.5	0	1.5	3
Total	**19.25**	**6.75**	**51.25**	**9.75**
Meat Weight / m²	**2.41**	**0.5**	**2.20**	**.81**

Most meat weights are relatively low, as the NE and SE clusters suggest the use of less than 10lbs of small animal meat, while the NW cluster is skewed to almost 20lbs by the presence of one lake sturgeon, represented by scutes.

Larger animals, whose meat was likely shared, account for the majority of the meat weight from Kirilovka. Bovid remains represent the highest weight, as three individuals contribute 900 lbs of meat. Less is provided by the single sheep represented, only 40 lbs. Finally, the single suid mandible recovered from the northwest cluster represents an animal that would produce 135 lbs of meat. The proportional distribution of this meat between clusters at the site is difficult to determine. The attribution of the pig remains to a single cluster, the northwest, does not necessarily imply that the entire animal was consumed by the residents of the coordinating household. A single bone, one from the mandible, does not tell how much of the animal, if any, was actually consumed at this location. The butchered sheep bones, on the other hand, do indicate the processing for consumption of such animals. Sheep remains were concentrated in the southwest cluster, and present in small numbers in the northwest, northeast, and Feature 72. If this does represent one shared animal, then most of the meat was likely consumed by the occupants of the southwest cluster. Finally, bos remains were also differentially distributed throughout the site. Density of bos remains per excavation unit proves to be the most reliable indicator of the distribution of this species, as unlike the sheep and pig, distribution is not limited entirely, or nearly entirely, to one cluster.

Table 7.5: Density of Bos remains per excavation unit by cluster (lbs / m^2)

Northeast	Northwest	Southeast	Southwest	Feature 72
.15	1.5	.08	3.65	7.5

7.1.2.3 Doukhobor Foodways

In addition to organic food remains, food preservation equipment and commercial packaging can be indicative of the subsistence strategy at a site.

Preservation of food products was necessary for winter sustenance, and different

strategies were employed in order to provide vegetables through the winter. One informant writes in her memoirs:

> [f]or winter mother would make sauerkraut and dill pickles. Crocks of them. We didn't have any fresh vegetables during winter months but potatoes and cabbage kept well in our dug out cellar. Onions were dried and kept in the attic as well as garlic (Mary Sookerokoff n.d.:8).

Similarly, one of Tarasoff's informants remembered that "canning much fruit and vegetables, up to 600 quarts a season" (Widow, N.E. Sask, Feb. 2, 1976, Interview 164 in Tarasoff 1977:122).

Far less archaeological evidence of food preservation was found at Kirilovka than was originally expected, since historical sources indicate that preservation of produce in crocks and jars was an important activity in the winter subsistence strategy of the Kirilovka Doukhobors. The Southwest cluster yielded only one stoneware jug, a second stoneware vessel likely to be a crock or jug, and one canning jar. Similarly, the Southeast cluster produced only three stoneware storage vessels and two canning jars. One jug, three other stoneware storage vessels, and no glass jars were found in the Northwest cluster. Finally, one jug, one other stoneware storage vessel, and four canning jars are represented in the collection from the Northeast cluster. It is evident that these small numbers of vessels per cluster do not accurately represent the volume of food preservation necessary to support a family of six-seven through winter months. Further, although they bear no marking, the jugs are just as likely to be associated with liquor or other beverage production, storage, and use at the site as they are to be food preservation containers.

A number of different explanations are possible. First, it is possible that canning jars and crocks were considered to be expensive and important objects, and were therefore cared for in a way that reduced breakage and disposal as compared to commercial product packaging. It is also possible that commercial product packaging itself, specifically glass bottles, were used for preserving liquids such as juices. This possibility will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Another possible explanation is that alternate techniques of preserving garden produce and wild species, such as drying, was predominant. Polly Popoff remembers picking saskatoon berries and pin cherries from across the river from Kirilovka, and drying them (Nosteroff 1993). This activity would leave little archaeological indication aside from seeds, which are present in the floral remains.

Finally, it may be suggested that home preserved food was replaced with preserved food bought from local merchants. The small size of the tin can collection at the site, however, makes this unlikely. Within the whole site, the minimum number of metal food cans present includes only nine hole-in-cap and six open top cans. This is likely a conservative Minimum Number of Vessels based on the high state of degradation of the materials. Still, however, these fifteen vessels would likely contain a lower volume of food product than even the small collection of canning jars and stoneware vessels. Evidence of a commercially prepared food product sold in a non-can container consists of only one bottle. A single flavouring extract bottle was recovered from the Northeast cluster.

At present, the most likely hypothesis is a combination of the first two possibilities. Canning jars and crocks were likely cared for well and were broken infrequently, and dried berries and other produce likely largely supplemented vacuum sealed or pickled fruit and vegetables.

7.1.3 **Personal Artifacts**

7.1.3.1 Textiles

Textile samples from Kirilovka were observed microscopically to identify fibre type. It was hoped that the distributions of locally produced and mass produced textiles would contribute to an understanding of the differences present within the site, and of the craft production activities of the Doukhobors.

When considering the entire site it appears that cotton and wool textiles are nearly equal in occurrence, and that other textile types occur only in small numbers. However, there is an apparent difference between the four clusters in the types of textile

materials represented in the collections. When comparing those clusters best represented by the excavations, the Southwest and Southeast clusters, there are noticeable differences in the composition of the textile collection. In the southwest cluster, the identifiable fibres are dominated by wool, with only small numbers of cotton and cotton blend materials. No silk is present. Conversely, the Southeast cluster collection contains over half cotton textiles, a small amount of silk, and a lower percentage of wool. A similar pattern is present in the smaller sample of the Northeast cluster.

The presence of higher percentages of cotton and silk in some clusters is suggested to represent higher percentages of purchased textile materials, either in the form of yarns or finished textiles. Wool was either produced on site or bought, but cotton materials was necessarily purchased either as yarn or finished textile.

The relative prices of bulk textiles of different material types listed in Canadian catalogues from 1901-1912 was compared (Eaton's Spring and Summer 1901:39-41, HBCo Autumn and Winter 1910-11:72-75, Woodward's 1912:4-11). Wool serges and suiting were generally sold in 40-48 inch widths at prices of $.25 to $1.75 per yard, depending on width and quality. Silks were sold in narrower widths of 20-24 inches for $.25 to $1.75 per yard, again depending on quality and width. Similarly, 28-48 inch widths of cotton lawn, muslin, longcloth, and nainsook were sold for $.085 to $.50 per yard. Due to its narrower width per yard, silk is the most expensive textile sold in all catalogues. Wool clothing fabrics are less expensive, and the cheapest available are the lighter weight cottons. Part of the price likely reflects the fibre type, but the weight, quality, and application of the fabric must also be considered. Silk, often considered to be a luxury fabric, is definitely more expensive than wool and cotton. The differences in price between wool and cotton may reflect the heavier weight of many of the wool fabrics, intended for dresses, suits, and coats, compared to the lighter cotton textiles intended for lighter clothing, sheeting, clothing lining and undergarments.

Table 7.6 lists the frequency and percentage of the different fibre types within each cluster.

Table 7.6: Textile types by cluster.

	SW		SE		NW		NE		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Wool	35	61.4	15	16.9	20	48.8	4	13.3	74	34.1
Cotton	1	1.8	47	52.8	21	51.2	11	36.7	80	36.9
w*c yarn	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	3	10	4	1.8
Silk	0	0	17	19.1	0	0	4	13.3	21	9.7
Unid	20	35.1	10	11.2	0	0	8	26.7	38	17.5
Total	57	100	89	100	41	100	30	100	217	100

7.1.3.2 Footwear

Based on the samples in this collection it is difficult to conclusively determine what proportion of the footwear was commercially produced and what amount was produced on site. Standard screwed shoes and boots, and sewn and welted shoes are considered here to most likely be purchased from a commercial establishment, while pegged and nailed shoes were either bought or made locally. Some overlap in this pattern is possible, depending on the skill and technology embraced by Doukhobor shoemakers. The types of shoes recovered from each cluster are reported in Table 7.7.

A comparison of prices of men's footwear produced by different methods was conducted using catalogues from 1901-1912. (Eaton's Spring and Summer 1901:88, HBCo Autumn and Winter 1910-11:124, Woodward's 1912:87-89). Work boots were available in standard screwed, pegged, nailed, and screwed and pegged manufacture methods. The most expensive of these were the screwed and pegged soled boots, available for $3.50 to $7.25 per pair in the Woodward's 1912 catalogue. Standard screwed boots cost between $2.00 and $3.75 per pair, while plain pegged and nailed sole boots cost 90c to $1.50. Welted shoes were mostly available in regular and dress shoes, rather than work boots, and were sold for $2.50 to $4.50. A Goodyear welted work boot was sold in the Woodward's 1912 catalogue for $8.00. Sewn shoes are lighter and less strong, and are sold in both the Eaton's and Woodward's catalogues for

$2.00 and $2.50.

Stylistic elements present on shoes from Kirilovka are less than helpful for providing information about the dates of production or quality of shoes. Most of the shoe and boot parts present in the collection are of plain, utilitarian styles. The only recurrent stylistic attribute is a row of cut-out-dot decoration along a cap toe or heel counter seam. This attribute is present on different varieties of footwear from all three catalogues, and if very popular at the time of Kirilovka's occupation, was possibly copied by local shoemakers.

Footwear related leather working activity at Kirilovka is better indicated by repaired shoes and boots, and cut leather scraps, than by the style of the footwear pieces.

Table 7.7: Shoe manufacture type by cluster.

	SW	SE	NW	NE	F20	F29	F72	N	%
Nail		5	3	3	11			22	45
Wood Peg	3	5		1				9	18.4
Metal Peg		1					1	2	4.1
Nail + Peg		1		3			1	5	10.2
Stitch		2		1		1		4	8.2
Turn		1		1	1			3	6.1
Screw				1				1	2
Welt	1							1	2
Turn/Welt						1		1	2
Indet.			1					1	2
Total	4	15	4	10	12	2	2	49	100

7.1.4 **Commercial Glass Containers** (Table 7.8)

7.1.4.1 Liquor Bottles

Bottles that were originally produced and used for containing liquor were recovered from all four clusters at Kirilovka, as well as Feature 72.

Between one and four different varieties of liquor are represented in each cluster in the collection. Whiskey, Gin, and Wine bottles are represented in three of the four clusters. The Southwest cluster contained the only cognac bottle identified conclusively at the site, although a single bottle hardly represents a difference in pattern of alcohol consumption between this cluster and others. The Northwest cluster produced only beer bottles, and only 2 of 3 bottles could be identified to beverage type. The overall collection from this cluster is, however, very small.

When considering liquor bottles at Kirilovka, Feature 72, classified within the unassigned category, is truly anomalous. Fairly low concentrations of liquor bottles are present in other privies at the site, as can be demonstrated by relatively low numbers of identifiable liquor containers within the four clusters (Northwest:n=3; Northeast:n=9; Southeast:n=7; Southwest:n=7). Feature 72, however, produced 22 identifiable liquor containers from within its single backhoe trench excavation. These were dominated by beer bottles (55%, n=12), followed by Gin case bottles (27%, n=6), and also included small numbers of identifiable whiskey and wine bottles. The unusual predominance of beer bottles, and the presence of many bottles, suggests a different pattern of alcohol consumption than is evidenced in other features at the site.

7.1.4.2 Soft Drink Bottles

Soft drink bottles are represented poorly in the Kirilovka collection, with only one specimen of a complete aerated water bottle and an embossed body fragment from a second. It is possible that some bottles classified as beer are misidentified and actually represent pop bottles. It is difficult to make this distinction in the absence of labels. In addition, some of those bottles classified as "other beverage" may be either liquor or soft drink bottles, or containers from a different liquid product.

Table 7.8: Glass commercial containers by contents and cluster.

		SW	SE	NW	NE	F72	F20	Total
Liquor	Cognac	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Whiskey	3	3	0	1	1	0	8
	Gin	body	1	0	4	6	0	11
	Wine	1	2	0	1	3	0	7
	Beer	0	1	2	2	12	0	17
	Unid	2	0	1	1	0	0	4
Aerated Water		body	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other Beverage		7	2	0	4	15	0	28
Medicine Style		1	5	1	5	27	1	40
Other		2	4	0	1	0	0	7
Total		17	19	4	19	64	1	124

7.1.4.3 Medicine Type Bottles

Medicine type bottles include both those bottles that are known to have contained health care related preparations, and those of the standard type generally used for this purpose. The latter include bottles that are rectangular in planview, cup-bottom moulded, with an applied finish designed to take a cork stopper, usually with a flat, squared lip.

Small numbers of medicinal bottles are present in the collections from all four feature clusters, and Feature 20. Higher MNVs were found in the eastern clusters, as both north and south produced five vessels each while the western clusters produced one identifiable bottle each. Feature 20 also produced one complete bottle.

As in the case of liquor bottles, Feature 72 is anomalous as the excavated trench of this feature produced 68% of all medicine type bottles recovered from Kirilovka (n=27). There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, the members of this cluster may have desired or needed to have more faith in commercially produced

medicinal products than members of other households at Kirilovka, possibly due to the illness or advanced age of its members. Secondly, as commercially prepared medicines often contained a high percentage of alcohol, they served as either a way to hide alcohol consumption within a social group that, in theory, frowned upon drinking, or as a drink available for purchase after prohibition was instituted. Both of these theories are equally plausible, and the real case may be either or a combination of the two. Why one feature exhibited such a marked contrast to the others in content of both liquor and medicinal bottles indicates a variation in behaviour within the site. Due to financial or philosophical reasons, the consumption of alcoholic beverages and commercial medicines was apparently more acceptable or possible for one family than for others at the site. It is unfortunate that Feature 72 can not be conclusively assigned to a cluster, as the pattern of refuse present in the rest of its associated household would be valuable in confirming or refuting these proposals.

Considering the density of glass commercial containers per cluster of features, there seems to be a marked difference between the clusters. The Southwest and Northwest clusters have relatively low concentrations, with .66 and .44 containers per metre square. The densities in the eastern clusters are noticeably higher, as the southeast produced 1.52 containers per metre square, and the northeast produced 1.19 containers per metre square. There are different possible explanations for this varied density. First, it is possible that the residents of the households in the eastern half of the site actually purchased more commercially prepared goods in glass containers than their neighbors to the west. Conversely, the difference may be caused by differential archaeological recovery. The highest concentration of glass containers was generally observed in privy deposits, and different numbers of privies were excavated in each cluster. However, there appears to be no consistent relationship between the number of privies excavated and the density of commercial containers, as the highest concentration of containers was found in the southeast cluster, which had only one privy (F16) associated with it, and the second lowest concentration, just over half of the next highest value, was found in the southwest cluster, in which three privies were

excavated. In order to understand the differences between the households, the bottle remains must be considered in conjunction with other types of material from the site.

7.1.5 **Other Household and Personal Artifact Classes**

Among the assemblages of the Southeast and Northeast clusters are some individual artifacts or groups of artifacts whose presence among the material culture of Doukhobor residents is unexpected and interesting.

The Southeast cluster produced two brass watch or clock gears, indicating the presence of a purchased time piece. Household improvement with purchased materials is evidenced by the presence of scraps of linoleum and fragments of a cast iron stove. Purchased toys include a glass marble, and fragments from the heads of two porcelain dolls.

Similarly, the Northeast cluster produced stove parts, one watch or clock gear, and a sherd from a single porcelain doll head. Another bought toy is a half of a cast iron toy pistol. This artifact is especially interesting in the case of the pacifist Doukhobors, whose pacifism is a basic tenet of all branches of this divided sect. A small padlock, and a lock key from two separate features in this cluster indicate a sense of personal material belongings, and protection, that is not expected among a supposedly communal sect within which individual property was shunned. Evidence for the use of electric appliances is present only in this cluster, from which was recovered the base of a small battery and a carbon rod from a battery or light. Finally, an ink bottle and pencil butt are the only conclusive evidence of literacy from the site. Although paper scraps with writing were found in the Northwest cluster, the activity of writing is represented only 'across the street' to the Northeast.

7.1.6 **Differences among Feature Clusters**

The archaeological sample from Kirilovka contains some barriers to statistically valid quantitative analysis. The assemblage is composed of relatively small numbers of a wide variety of material goods, and when higher levels of categorization are

considered, such as the first functional level, there tends to be a loss of focus and meaning in the results. These categories may, in fact, be too broad to provide significant information about the differences between household consumption patterns. Some qualitative observations may be made, however, which suggest at least preliminarily that the pattern of consumer activity varied across the household groupings at Kirilovka. These will be presented below, although not without the acknowledgement that sampling strategy or sample size may greatly affect archaeological recovery.

Textile samples from the southwest and northwest clusters contain higher frequencies of wool than cotton or silk fibres, suggesting that most of the corresponding household's textiles were produced on site. The eastern clusters show a different pattern, however, in that they contain higher frequencies of cotton and silk textile remains, indicating purchased yarns and/or finished textiles. Higher frequencies of shoes, and of shoes produced by mechanical means, such as turning, machine nailing (metal peg), and standard screwing were also found in the eastern clusters. It appears that within the category of personal clothing, the occupants of the eastern clusters owned more, and more variety, of commercially produced goods. In the case of the clothing materials, it may be considered, as previously discussed, that those village residents who first received 'western' style bought clothing acquired it second hand from aid agencies, and that these people were in fact economically poor compared to their neighbours.

The remainder of the material culture assemblage from the eastern feature clusters, however, does not support this hypothesis. As previously discussed, the density of commercially produced glass containers is higher in the eastern than the western clusters. This includes a greater number, and greater variety of both liquor and medicinal containers, as well as other beverage, and toiletry related glass. Small numbers of seemingly incidental artifacts also offer insight into the make up of the eastern cluster assemblages. Three watch or clock gears, and two battery parts recovered from the site were all found in the eastern clusters. In addition, both the

northeast and southeast clusters provided evidence of such purchased household improvements as cast iron stoves and linoleum flooring. Purchased toys, including doll heads and marbles, were almost exclusively recovered from the eastern features. The most remarkable purchased toy, recovered from the northeast cluster, is part of a cast iron pistol, which not only suggests commercial acquisition of goods, but also a departure from the deeply held Doukhobor tenet of pacifism. The northeast cluster was the only one in the site to produce a lock and key, both signifying a sense of personal belonging, and private ownership that is irreconcilable with the Doukhobor ideal of communal ownership and shunning of personal property espoused by Verigin and his followers. Finally, the exclusive recovery of writing instruments from the northeast cluster, including only an ink bottle and lead pencil butt, indicate a communicative ability divorced from the oral transmission of Doukhobor faith and practice. Literacy allows different avenues of communication, and before the introduction of the telephone to rural communities such as this, the only way short of travel to the nearest telegraph office to communicate with individuals and agencies outside of the village. Communication in writing allows a certain independence of expression outside the community not always available to the illiterate.

Organic food remains from Kirilovka show a different pattern than the artifact materials. As with textiles, floral remains were observed with regard to the possibility that some species may represent material aid received by impoverished families. Specifically, if the distribution of dried fruit from aid agencies was inversely proportional to the income or horticultural success of the family, then there may be an observable relationship between the proportions of imported and locally grown species. This would involve a higher proportion, or ranking, within cluster flora of imported species, a concomitant higher proportion of textiles from purchased sources, and a low proportion of purchased indulgences and other non-necessities. Such a pattern could not be conclusively demonstrated, however, as exotic and local species were found in all sampled clusters. Although comparison of the floral samples from the different clusters yields little information about differences between household plant use, faunal

remains are more informative. Higher meat weight/excavation unit, and higher density of bos remains/excavation unit were found in the western clusters. The single incidence of pig remains, and the greatest concentration of sheep remains, were also found in the west. The southeast cluster, conversely, had both a greater meat weight (excluding the single sturgeon specimen from the northwest) and variety of fish specimens than other clusters. Therefore, it seems apparent that while the households corresponding to the eastern clusters were purchasing more variety and quantity of mass-produced consumer goods, they were also consuming less variety and quantity of meat products from domestic animals.

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrates that when the many artifact types recovered from Kirilovka are considered together as a whole there is a patterned difference in material remains between the eastern and western clusters of the site. This is taken to suggest that the consumer activities of the households that correspond to each feature cluster were not uniform across the village. Individual families were engaging in some of their own consumer pursuits, motivated by different priorities than their neighbours across the street. These varied consumer activities are believed to correspond to variations in ethnic and religious behaviour among Kirilovka's families, as reflected in their daily lives by different interpretations of the tenets of Doukhoborism and the basic activities of rural, agrarian Russians. The implications of these archaeological findings, in the context of what is known through historical sources about Doukhobor identity and practice, will be discussed in the next chapter.

7.2 *Intersite Comparison of the Kirilovka Assemblage*

Selecting appropriate sites for comparison with Kirilovka proved to be extremely difficult. The criteria employed in determining comparability required that sites would be similar in date and duration of occupation to Kirilovka, reasonably isolated from urban areas and sources of purchased supplies, be based on an agricultural economy, and be occupied by nuclear or extended family units. Several sites were considered, and discarded as possibilities.

Three sites that seemed especially promising, as, like Kirilovka, they relate to the agricultural settlement of the western Canadian prairies, proved to be inappropriate for comparison. In a 1985 publication, Heinz Pyzczyck reports on archaeological investigations undertaken at three Ukrainian homestead sites occupied after the turn of the century. These include the Makowichuk (1904-1947), Rosychuk (1905-1947), and Yurko (ca. 1930-1950) homesteads. The interpretation of the artifact materials from these three sites involves the calculation of variety indices derived from an equation incorporating artifact frequency per metre of excavation, and the number of different artifact varieties. All three sites date much later in time than the village occupation of Kirilovka (1899 - ca. 1920), making these homestead samples inappropriate for comparison with Kirilovka. In addition, useful listings of the artifact assemblage from these sites were not readily available.

7.2.1 **The Silcott and Moser Samples**

Samples from two sites were eventually chosen for comparison with Kirilovka. These are the Weiss Ranch Dumps at Silcott, Washington, and the cellar midden at the Moser Farmstead in northwest Arkansas. Both have appropriate dates of occupation, a domestic family context of occupation, and an agricultural economic base. Several factors can skew the results of a comparison, however. First, these sites are both located a great distance from Kirilovka, in a different country with different sources of trade from Canada. As is possible with any comparison, these sites may have been investigated using different priorities in collection and recording, and different methods of classification. This comparison controls the latter problem by tabulating the samples based on the same functional categories, and eliminating materials that were differentially collected from site to site. Finally, the contexts of deposition differ among the sites. At Kirilovka and Moser, subsurface features directly related to the context of domestic activity, that later became receptacles for post-abandonment refuse, were excavated. Conversely, the Weiss Ranch Dump sites consist of concentrations of trash that was carried away from the house and purposefully deposited.

Archaeological investigation of the remains of late 19th and early 20th century habitation at Silcott, Washington (Adams 1975, 1977) involved the excavation of a number of sites, including a store and several domestic sites. One of these groups of sites, the Weiss Ranch Dumps, date similarly to the period of occupation of Kirilovka, and represent domestic refuse deposition areas, like many of the features at Kirilovka. The Weiss Ranch dumps at Silcott were excavated in order to provide a sample of domestic refuse for comparison with the remains of Bill Wilson's Store, a small scale commercial and domestic site within the same town (Adams 1975:67). Three dump areas located approximately 200m north of the Weiss Ranch house location are associated with the occupation of this house, which began in 1884. Two use periods of 1900 - 1910, and 1915 - 1920 were determined for the dumps based on the artifacts recovered.

Three dumps were tested separately, and were considered as separate sites:

45AS88A contained two horizontally separated components, but was highly disturbed due to bottle collecting activity in the 1960s. Forty-eight square metres were excavated at this site in a single level the depth of the deposition. Artifacts suggested use dates of 1900-1910, and 1915-1929 (Adams 1975:67).

45AS88B was a smaller, undisturbed area containing mostly tin cans. Two square metres were excavated, yielding artifact derived dates of 1913-1920 (Adams 1975:67).

The third dump, 45AS89, was also undisturbed. Fourteen square metres of excavation were completed at this site, which dates between 1916-1920 (Adams 1975:67).

Classification of artifacts within the 1975 report was done largely according to material type, rather than functional categories. It was therefore necessary to tabulate the data from the Weiss Ranch Dump sites according to the classificatory scheme used at Kirilovka. As well, floral and faunal remains were not included in the analysis of the Moser or Weiss Ranch Dump sites, so unfortunately these very interesting categories of data could not be included in this comparison.

Commercial opportunities in Silcott include stores opened by brothers Bill Wilson (1910) and Cliff Wilson (1905) right in town (Adams 1975:89). These later became only convenience stores when transportation to other centres became easier. Many goods were acquired from two other communities up the Snake River, Lewiston and Clarkston, about 10km away.

The cellar midden from the Moser Farmstead produced materials representing the refuse of a northwest Arkansas farm occupied between 1852 and 1919 by "families who owned their farm, a family who leased from their kin, two families of renters, and one bachelor" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:13). The nearest retail outlet and post office to the Moser site from the 1880's to1910 was at Colville, 3.4 km away (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:150). There was also a post office, and some retail opportunities, 4.1km distant in Lowell (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:149).

7.2.2 **Qualitative Comparison of Sites**

7.2.2.1 Liquor

Only three types of alcoholic beverage were recovered from the remains at Silcott, including whiskey, beer, and wine (Adams 1975:50). Kirilovka produced remains of these three beverages, in addition to gin and cognac. This is not considered to represent significant behavioural differences between the sites.

7.2.2.2 Food and Food Preservation

A surprising difference between Kirilovka, Silcott, and the Moser Farmstead was noted with respect to food preservation equipment. According to Adams:

> [h]ome canning was an important and time-consuming task in Silcott. With little or no refrigeration available, canning and drying were a necessity. Home canning was an arduous task but one with a certain amount of prestige value. The more you produced and canned the more successful you were in managing your farm, and thus the more respect you garnered in the community (Adams 1975:54).

This importance of home food preservation is reflected in the high number of

canning jars (n=156) recovered from the Weiss Ranch dumps at Silcott. Similarly, at least 25 glass canning jars were recovered from the cellar midden at the Moser Farmstead (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:68). Although a large number of canning jars might also be expected at Kirilovka, only seven individual vessels could be conclusively identified from all site remains (SW:1; SE:2; NW:0; NE:4). A possible explanation for this phenomenon is suggested in Stewart-Abernathy's discussion of changes in food preservation technology shortly after the turn of the century:

> [i]t was even expected that if the actual occupation of particular features covered a short enough period of time, that canning jars would predominate over stoneware since by 1910 the only uses expected for stoneware was for fermentation of vegetables such as cabbage to make sauerkraut, and for occasional application in dairying as for churning and household storage of butter. (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:55).

Stewart-Abernathy attributes this temporal difference to the development of machine manufacturing techniques for glassware such as canning jars. It was considered possible that the residents of Kirilovka were working according to an older style of food preservation, using stoneware crocks rather than glass jars. However, the material remains from Kirilovka do not support this argument. Only 11 combined stoneware crocks and jugs were found in excavations of the Doukhobor village site (SW:2; SE:3; NW:4; NE:2).

These differences are reflected in the percentage representations of artifact distribution at the three sites. Within the comparative assemblages, food preparation and storage equipment, including both jars and crocks, made up 23.38% of the Silcott artifacts and 19.87% of the Moser Farmstead cellar midden artifacts. Conversely, only 4.44% of the artifacts from Kirilovka fit into this category.

Despite the fact that, as Adams stresses, home preservation of food was considered to be an important part of both subsistence and status in Silcott, this site contains much more evidence of purchased condiments and food products than does Kirilovka. Within the sample from the Doukhobor sample, food packaging comprises only 0.16% of the comparative sample. Conversely, this category makes up 1.23% of

the Weiss Ranch Dump sample, consisting of 12 vessels to Kirilovka's 4 (only 3 of which can be considered in the MNV's). As well, the Silcott sample includes pickle, preserve, sauce, and mustard containers as well as pop and flavoring extract bottles, while the Kirilovka sample contains only pop, extract, and bitters bottles. It is possible that the latter two bottles served medicinal or recreational beverage purposes. It is evident that the Weiss Ranch residents were purchasing condiments from the nearby store in Silcott, or another local centre. The absence of identifiable condiment containers from Kirilovka may indicate that either the residents made their own sauces and pickles, or that such seasonings did not figure largely into the diet of the Doukhobors.

7.2.2.3 Ceramics

Interesting differences were observed with respect to the ceramic tableware remains at the three sites involved in this comparison. The ceramic ware types, distinguishing porcelain from less vitrified white wares; and the decorative motifs, identifying sets of patterns, were both considered in this examination.

In dealing with the first area of inquiry at Silcott, Adams states that "Porcelain vessels were generally more expensive than earthenware vessels. Hence, the ration of earthenware to porcelain might be used as an indicator of relative economic status, all other things being equal" (Adams 1976:64). Although the equation of economic status with social status is not being done here, the purchase of more costly ceramics does indicate a certain priority in consumer decision making. The proportion by vessel of the ceramic assemblage made of porcelain was calculated for each site, as was the ratio of porcelain to other whiteware tablewares. At Silcott (including all sites), porcelain vessels made up 11.6% of all tableware vessels. The overall ratio of whiteware to porcelain dishes was 7.6:1, and the ratio specifically for the Weiss ranch dumps is 32:1. According to Adams "[t]his may well be regarded as reflecting a better economic position of the storekeeper, ferryman, and government trapper as opposed to the farmers at the Weiss Ranch. Of course, it also may reflect other variables as well, such as

preference, or that porcelain tableware was more valuable and therefore more cared for" (Adams 1976:64). Of the ceramic remains in the Moser Farmstead cellar midden, Stewart-Abernathy writes that "The ceramic tablewares from the cellar midden consist of a minimum of 78 vessels:56 whiteware and 22 porcelain" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:77). This provides a component of 28.21% porcelain, and a 2.54:1 whiteware to porcelain ratio. Kirilovka's whiteware:porcelain ratio is 4.63:1 for the northeast, southeast, and southwest concentrations combined (individual:SW:4.2:1; SE:6.5:1; NE:3:1), and porcelain vessels make up 17.78% of all tablewares. This ratio places Kirilovka's assemblage somewhere intermediate between Weiss Ranch and Moser.

A possible explanation of the low proportions of porcelain found at Silcott is the conservation of valuable porcelain tablewares by site residents. One dating phenomenon found in the Weiss Ranch Dump sites was that there was considerable time lag in deposition of ceramic artifacts when compared to other dateable artifacts such as glass bottles. A lag of 16-40 years is thought to be present between the acquisition and deposition of ceramic materials (Adams 1975:68). It is difficult to demonstrate whether or not this phenomenon existed at Kirilovka, as very few ceramic pieces could be dated based on manufacturer's markings.

The second facet of ceramic tablewares considered in the intersite comparison is the nature of decorative patterns on the ceramics, specifically, the presence or absence of matching sets of tableware. With respect to the remains from Silcott, Washington, Adams writes that "Of 172 earthenware and porcelain vessels at the seven sites only six pattern duplications occurred. There were 160 unique patterns!" (Adams 1975:61). A somewhat different pattern of ceramic acquisition was identified at the Moser Farmstead, where "[o]f the decorated wares, 16 of the whiteware vessels belong to four sets, and three of the porcelain vessels belong to a single set" (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:77). In addition, 40 glass tableware vessels were recovered from excavations in the cellar midden at Moser (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:73). The ceramic remains from Kirilovka are similar to the Weiss Ranch Dump ceramics in this respect. Nearly as many pattern types as vessels were identified, suggesting that pieces were bought as

open stock rather than as parts of individual sets. No identifiable glass tablewares were recovered.

When the two areas of inquiry are considered together, it can be seen that the Kirilovka residents were purchasing a moderate amount of more expensive ceramic tablewares, but were not making the expenditures for matched sets of dinnerware. What this seems to indicate about the site residents at Kirilovka is that not necessarily the cheapest pieces of open stock were always bought, as may be expected based on the practical simplicity assumed in Doukhobor life.

As previously discussed, the ceramic tableware set carries a social meaning to Anglo-American/Canadian consumers that is not inherent in its physical presence. Of the acquisition of sets of ceramics at the Moser Farmstead, Stewart-Abernathy writes:

> items themselves were acquired as the final stage of distribution likely by means of the intraregional mechanisms indicated above, but the concept of sets is a piece of information that must also be acquired if the consumer is to be identified as a full participant in the world system of industrial mass production. (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:145).

The ceramic sets at Moser are then interpreted in the following manner: The presence of tablewares with similar patterning (sets) in an archaeological assemblage is a strong indication that the people responsible for the material culture represented by that assemblage were aware of the market availability of matched tablewares. It also suggests that they were sharing the symbols of fashion and prosperity, even though the arbiters of fashion in the cities might have already moved on to the next style. The people at Moser did indeed belong to a wider information network than just their neighbours (Stewart Abermathy1986:159).

It is believed that the absence of sets from the tableware assemblage at Kirilovka indicates that site residents were NOT fully participating in the same information network as their Anglo-Canadian contemporaries. Similarly, the Weiss Ranch residents did not consider matched sets of ceramic dinnerware to be a priority. The presence of individual pieces of more expensive porcelain, as opposed to matched sets, may also

indicate something about Doukhobor purchasing behaviour. When a little money was available, attractive individual pieces were bought according to the tastes of the consumer. Money was not saved for the large purchase of a matched set, as the social attractiveness of the set was not perceived by the Doukhobor buyers.

The differences present among the three site assemblages suggest that the avoidance of the ceramic set can not be directly associated with rural, agrarian domestic sites. The presence of matched sets from the Moser Farmstead indicates that unmatched sets of dishes are not part of a 'farm pattern', but a pattern informed by other factors than economic basis and location. The fact that the Weiss Ranch residents were closer geographically to stores than Moser residents strengthens this argument - they were not choosing their dishes based on poor selections available to the geographically isolated. Further investigation into this phenomenon is necessary, although at this point the following tentative suggestion could be made: the non-Anglo ethnic origin of the residents of Kirilovka and of the Weiss Ranch may be associated with their avoidance of matched sets of ceramics, as these expensive collections likely did not hold the same social importance to non-Anglo-ethnic settlers as to the Moser site residents.

Chapter 8
Discussion: Doukhobor Identity and Material Culture

8.1 *"Traditional" Doukhobor Lifeways*

Certain behaviours are considered to be an essential part of the practice of the Doukhobor faith, both within, and outside of the community. These include pacifism, vegetarianism, and abstention from tobacco and alcohol. In addition, Doukhoborism is associated with a village level economic communism derived from the Russian *mir* system, and the practices of Russian Mennonites in the Transcaucasus. The following discussion will address historical attitudes regarding these behaviours, and incorporate the material data from Kirilovka in order to demonstrate that, as at many other times, the Doukhobors of this village were in a state of behavioural flux. The tensions associated with this state of change are visible when the material culture is placed within its historical context.

Many of the prescribed behaviours noted above were characteristic of a "new Doukhoborism" introduced under the late nineteenth century leadership of Peter Verigin. Therefore, they were likely not deeply entrenched in the custom of individual families by the time of the immigration to North America. Episodes through the history of the Doukhobors in Russia, combined with archaeological evidence from the Canadian Doukhobor village of Kirilovka, suggest that practice of the behavioural restraints outlined below was not a constant through the many migrations of these people. In support of this interpretation, Fry states that:

> [u]nder Peter Verigin at the end of the nineteenth century, the 'new Doukhoborism' advised its adherents to adopt vegetarianism, refrain from using intoxicants (tobacco and alcohol), avoid sexual relations, refuse all military service, and adopt economic communism. Some of these tenets, of course, were not new. Abstention from alcohol and the refusal to bear arms were traditional Doukhobor precepts; economic communism had been practiced at various times. Yet most of these more traditional

> injunctions had been allowed to lapse. ... Vereshchagin noted that the sectarians 'openly drink and smoke and grow tobacco.' Verigin's 'new Doukhoborism' was a reformation, a return to an original and pure sectarian asceticism (Fry 1976:390-1).

The 'new Doukhoborism" was instigated by Verigin in 1893, while he was in exile, and was inspired by the Doukhobor leader's readings of and correspondence with writer Lev Tolstoy. Although these behaviours were encouraged and enforced by the leadership of Verigin, there was and still is a feeling among some members of the community that these restrictions are peripheral to the religious beliefs of Doukhobors in Canada. A Vancouver engineer interviewed by Tarasoff states that:

> [e]ating meat, all those things, drinking alcohol and not smoking, were all part of a self-disciplining process at a certain period in the Doukhobor history; particularly to make them strong, to say 'no' to the military forces in Tsarist Russia, by refusing to participate in bearing arms. This is where it started and it's something that's perhaps important towards one's health and so on. But it should not have the religious significance that some people attach to it. It's just purely a disciplinary technique and a cleansing process which is very admirable (July 18, 1963, interview 16 - 20 & 23 in Tarasoff 1977).

This statement suggests that some restrictions to behaviour were suggested by Verigin more as social control mechanisms than as spiritual necessities. Further, they were situationally applicable to a specific period in Doukhobor history when group organization and boundary maintenance were required. It follows, then, that those Doukhobors who did not accept Verigin's supreme leadership, such as members of the Small party that stayed in Russia and the Independent Doukhobors in Canada, had different concepts of what it meant to be Doukhobor. It was possible in the minds of the Independent Doukhobors to maintain the faith and Doukhobor identity without the economic communalism espoused by the 'Veriginites', so, it is likely that it was just as possible for families to maintain their sense of Doukhobor identity without abstaining from using animal products, liquor, or tobacco. Verigin himself writes, in a letter to Lev Tolstoy, of the maintenance of basic Doukhobor values in the face of great social, geographic, and behavioural change:

> Maybe you have heard rumours that many of the Doukhobors are falling away from the community life - but this in no way stops the rest - or even the ones departing - from being good Christian people. Recently we adopted the motto: *Keep you heart from evil...* Since all the former rituals, even the little ones, are changing, the only thing we have to observe is: *Keep your heart from evil* (P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 2 February 1909, in Donskov 1995:87).

As discussed in earlier chapters, the very nature of the oral transmission and documentation of Doukhobor faith led to the potential for constant reinterpretation of the meaning of practice in Doukhoborism. Writing from a perspective more within the Doukhobor community than most other secondary sources, Friesen and Verigin remark that:

> [t]heoretically, on the basis of the Divine spark, every believer becomes his own priest. In Doukhobor faith this not only renders the formal priesthood obsolete, it also makes the Bible or any other written authority unnecessary because the individual is directly led by the Spirit of God. All that is essential is to listen to the inner voice of God for daily guidance. Naturally this arrangement has the potential for disagreements which can easily mount into deep schisms. As the history of the Doukhobors reveals, this has been occasioned more than a single time (Friesen and Verigin 1996:7).

Such schisms were frequently based on variations in practice of the faith between different groups of Doukhobors, splitting two sides on the grounds of such issues as vegetarianism and communal land tenure. The following paragraphs discuss the basic tenets of Verigin's 'new Doukhoborism', and the archaeological correlates relating to these behaviours as found at Kirilovka.

8.1.2 **Tobacco and Alcohol Abstention**

As part of his memoirs of life in the village of Petrofka, Bayoff recalls one evening of recreation on which "a load of supplies, etc., came in from Rosthern. Naturally wine was one of the items brought in" (Bayoff 1985:10). Through this memoir, there is no sense that Bayoff's family and neighbors were not "true Doukhobors", nor is there any indication that the consumption of some alcohol was

considered to be wrong.

Outside observers also noted Doukhobor attitudes toward tobacco and alcohol, as a 1907 letter written from J.K. Johnson in Yorkton to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior describes his observations of Doukhobor abstinence:

> [y]ou were aware they had 100 years of exemptions and privileges in that country [Russia] and that about twelve (12) years ago those privileges being nearly ended they stopped chewing or smoking tobacco, stopped liquor drinking (a custom till that time general with them) and also stopped eating meat...It is well understood that this rapid change was in great part due to a cunning desire to still escape military duties by assuming great religious aversion to eating meat and bloodshed in general - Those who leave the company now in many cases drink (in all cases of course, excess depending on the person), also eat meat & c. Company men also will drink on the sly, and smoke and chew in a great number of cases (National Archives of Canada, RG15, D-II-1, Vol. 755, File 494483, Pt.6.).

Although Fry states that abstention from alcohol was a traditional Doukhobor activity, Breyfogle notes that there were periods in Russia during which this practice was and was not observed. He writes that "While sobriety was a component of Doukhobor religious practice at other times, in Transcaucasia drinking played a very significant part in both everyday life and special occasions" (Breyfogle 1995:28).

Archaeological remains recovered from the features at Kirilovka indicate that in this Saskatchewan village, drinking also had a place in Doukhobor life. Evidence of liquor consumption, in the form of identifiable bottles, was present in all four feature clusters, and in abundance in the unassigned privy feature 72. A variety of beverages are represented in the households, including whiskey, gin, cognac, wine, and beer. The only difference in distribution of beverage types across the site occurred in the northwest cluster, in which only beer bottles were identified.

As with all commercial containers, the nature of the use may be called into question. Were the Doukhobors at Kirilovka really consuming these alcoholic beverages, or were they acquiring the empty bottles from nearby settlers or middens, and reusing them for the preservation of berry juices and other liquids? The complete state

of many of these bottles, and the presence of corks within still labeled bottles, suggests that the former is the most likely case. Why would settlers who acquired old bottles for reuse then dispose of these bottles in their complete state, rather than washing and reusing them? The more likely argument seems to be that after the liquor was consumed, the cork was sometimes pushed back inside the bottle, and the whole bottle thrown in the privy with other trash. The medicinal bottles may also be considered in this section for two reasons. First, patent medicines tended to have high alcohol content, and were frequently consumed as a recreational beverage. Secondly, features and clusters that tended to have high frequencies of alcohol bottles also produced relatively high numbers of medicinal type bottles. The northeast cluster, and feature 72 may be considered as cases in point.

8.1.3 **Vegetarianism**

The practice of vegetarianism among the Doukhobors was introduced by Peter Verigin less than a decade before the migration to Canada in 1899. Warm blooded animals were not to be eaten by the Doukhobors under Verigin's rule, although fish eating was allowed (Gale 1973:110). In Russia, there was factionalization among the Doukhobors, and it was only members of the Large party who followed Verigin as their leader that obeyed this order. At the time of its introduction, vegetarianism was not embraced by all and although those who came to Canada were generally Verigin's followers, there is no reason to believe that all fully conformed to the leaders wishes. While Doukhobors became divided into fasting and non-fasting factions, Gale states that although "the 'fasting Doukhobors' would not eat meat or kill cattle they did continue to raise cattle to sell to others for butchering. This practice was to continue even after they came to Canada" (Gale 1973). No reports of this activity in Canada were found to support this statement, however.

Another of Tarasoff's oral history informants, published in the 1977 compilation, discusses vegatarianism and Doukhoborism. He states that:

I'm not anti-vegetarian nor am I pro but I feel that it has nothing to

> do with Doukhoborism; that you could be a Doukhobor whether you eat meat or not and the thing is if you arrive at those convictions whether from your own belief or just because somebody said it's so. There's the big thing. Unfortunately, Peter V. Verigin commanded his followers not to eat meat, so everybody in the Community had to quit. If you were caught eating meat, you were excluded from the Community. Naturally, there were weaker members, members that were more or less forced to quit eating meat not from conviction but by order. This is why forced adoption of vegetarianism also contributed to communal disintegration, and has been one of the big problems (Oct. 22, 1975, interview 152 -40 to 42 in Tarasoff 1977:127).

Similar, though varied views regarding the practice of vegetarianism are expressed by others of Tarasoff's informants (1977:128-132).

Tarasoff describes the typical foodways of Doukhobors in the Saskatchewan settlements including abstinence from meat eating. He writes that:

> *[s]ukhari*, dried bread, made of low grade flour was a basic staple, along with soup made by boiling a mixture of flour and water with vegetables such as cabbage, onions, beets, and potatoes. Most, but not all, ate fish. Most did not eat meat. They liked butter, cheese, and eggs and kept a small supply of cows and poultry (Tarasoff 1982:57-8).

Many families who were vegetarians at the time of their arrival in Canada abandoned this practice shortly after arriving in Saskatchewan (Tarasoff 1977:129). Some report that families began to eat meat after leaving the community (Widow, N.E. Sask, Feb. 2, 1976, interview 164 in Tarasoff 1977:122). Others began eating meat while on work crews away from the village. Sulerzhitsky observes the working conditions of men from the North and South colonies working on the railroad in September of 1899:

> they were considered excellent workers and were much prized. Since Doukhobors did not eat meat, despite the inconvenience, they prepared separate food for them without meat, under their direction. For them the Company even bought new pewter dishes so as not to give them those where meat had been (Sulerzhitsky 1976: 203).

Of a later time, however, one informant states:

> I was out on the prairie and I was 16 years old before I tasted any meat at all. During threshing time when I went out with the gang and they were serving meat, I didn't feel too great to refuse and started by a little bit (Carpenter, B.C. interior, July 17, 1975, interviews 102, 55 & 56 in Tarasoff 1977:129).

It is possible that with the passage of years, and distance from Verigin and his devout followers, the resolve of workers to remain vegetarian diminished.

Tracie provides a quote from the Voskrisennie Village File that indicates that both vegetarian and meat-eating Doukhobors occupied the same communities on the prairies:

> [t]here is some trouble between the straight Communists and Independent-Communists owing to living together in the village...In those villages where there is a number of Independents doing business for themselves and keeping poultry in the village which destroys the gardens of the Communists who keep none has caused some quarreling (Tracie 1996:171).

Gale provides an interesting insight into Doukhobor non-compliance with Verigin's suggestions. He states that:

> irregular observance of foodways and discrepancies in the observance of pacifistic tendencies provide one more indication that historically the Doukhobors have never comprised one single monolithic sect, but rather a range of groups and individuals served by a common body of doctrine (Gale 1973:97).

The above pastiche of references demonstrates that there was great variation among the opinions and practices of Doukhobors in both Russia and Canada regarding vegetarianism. This inconsistency is supported in the archaeological remains recovered from Kirilovka. As was presented in the previous chapter, the skeletal remains of a variety of domesticated and wild animals, many with butchering or cut marks from preparation and consumption, were found in deposits at Kirilovka. Despite the fact that the village was reportedly the most communal of those in the Prince Albert colony, this

communalism did not necessarily imply vegetarianism.

Even though strict vegetarianism was evidently not observed at this site, a diet high in fruit and vegetable foods, and home grown or pickled foods, is still suggested by the Kirilovka remains. Among the floral samples retrieved through flotation, researchers identified eight varieties of wild fruit, four imported species, and at least four cultivated species. Within the faunal collection, three wild fish species, and one wild mammal, rabbit, accompanies domestic mammal and fowl remains. This great variety indicates that Doukhobors were utilizing wild and domesticated species of both plants and animals to create a varied diet. Missing from the potentially locally produced foods are legumes and grains. The processing of both of these products could easily prevent their inclusion into the archaeological record. First, the seeds of legumes are generally cooked to softness before consumption, so that they are entirely broken down within the digestive tract. Further, grain consumed by Kirilovka villagers was milled at Bogdanofka, a village to the northwest toward the town of Ceepee. The consumption of a diet produced largely at the local level is also supported in the archaeological evidence by the lack of commercial food glass (jars from pickles and chutneys, for example) and tin cans. Although tin cans are present, the occur only in small numbers, and only some of the cans present are likely from food products. Others may just as easily represent paint, tobacco, or other non-edible canned goods.

8.1.4 **Health Care Practices**

Doukhobor communities reportedly had traditional health care practitioners called "*akushers*" (a kind of practical nurse) and "*fel'dshers*" (medical assistants) in Russia and in the first years on the prairies. In addition there were midwives and bonesetters in the community (Tarasoff 1977:208-215). Some treatments involved 'practical' remedies such as bloodletting and bone setting, while others, such as 'whispering', were more ritualistic. Practitioners were regularly older women, with the exception of bonesetters who were frequently male (Tarasoff 1977:208-215). Bayoff writes that in the village of Petrofka, he remembers his grandfather letting blood for the

sick, and that the village also had a midwife (Bayoff 1985:7). Tarasoff's informants noted that Doukhobors in Saskatchewan would also have recreational gatherings at the Manitou Beach mineral waters, whose curative powers were sought (Tarasoff 1977:197).

Leopold A. Sulerzhitsky observes that in their first year of settlement the Doukhobors were plagued by problems such as yellow fever, digestive difficulties, exhaustion, and malnutrition (Sulerzhitsky 1976:155). In caring for their sick, however, he writes that:

> the Doukhobors in relation to medical science are at the same stage of development as are all Russian people. They have no healers of their own, not even some who are a little knowledgeable. All medical help is provided to them by "old women," who use the same treatment among the Doukhobors in other parts of the Russian Empire. They treat with corrosive sublimate, blood letting, manure, and all kinds of infusions, often harmless, often poisonous, and only rarely beneficial and - something that really surprised me - even with "whisperings" [charms or spells] These "whisperings," the crudest of superstitions, do not sit well with one's concept of the Doukhobors, who in their religion and general spiritual development show little superstition(Sulerzhitsky 1976:155).

Later, he states that:

> [i]t must be said, however, that a doctor or assistant need only appear among the Doukhobors and they drop their "old women" and hurry to consult him. In general, I noticed that the Doukhobors behave very trustfully to doctors and their treatment (Sulerzhitsky 1976:156).

The Doukhobor response to the plethora of bottled medical 'marvels' available commercially at this time is rarely discussed, however, in oral or documentary sources. Only one respondent remembers the use of purchased medicines: Mary Sookerokoff recalled the use of some kind of red liquid 'painkiller' during her childhood on a farm near Petrofka (Mary Sookerokoff, personal communication 1996).

In the area of health care practice, the material culture remains from Kirilovka are particularly useful. There is extensive evidence from Kirilovka that a number of commercially prepared remedies, in addition to unknown preparations from a local

pharmacy, were consumed by the village residents. Identified markings from medicinal bottles include the ubiquitous "Perry Davis' Vegetable Painkiller", a high alcohol catarrhic tonic called "Peruna", a liniment containing both alcohol and opium, as well as a prescription bottle from a pharmacy in Rosthern. The distribution of these materials is not even throughout the site, as there is noticeable concentration of identifiable medicinal, and medicinal type bottles in feature 37 of the northeast concentration and feature 72, which is unassigned yet adjacent to the southeast cluster. As discussed previously, it is not known whether these remedies were consumed for their indicated medicinal use, or as an alternative to alcoholic beverages purchased for legal or social reasons.

8.1.5 **Communalism**

As previously discussed, communalism among the Doukhobor settlements is considered by many to be of great importance to the sect's cultural landscape and identity. As also discussed, at many times in the period of Saskatchewan settlement, there was, and continues to be, factionalization within the Doukhobor communities. In a letter from surveyor C.C. Fairchild to Surveyor General E. DeVille esq. LL.D., Brantford, February 5, 1910, the concluding remarks of a report of accompaniment of the Doukhobor commission state that the:

> communistic idea is fostered chiefly by the women and older men, and while there were distinct threats of secession in many places among the younger men individually, this disappeared if a number were present, even if each had previously individually expressed himself opposed to the idea of communism (Saskatchewan Archives, Surveyors Files:C.C. Fairchild, R-183:I.176).

As with some other behaviours, economic communalism at the village level was not a consistent feature in Doukhobor settlement. Tarasoff, writing from a modern Doukhobor perspective, remarks that:

> [a]lthough the Doukhobors had settled in villages, group settlement did not necessarily mean communal life. Private cultivation of the

> soil and ownership of livestock and equipment were possible. These were the general economic implications of the *mir* system, to which the Doukhobors were accustomed prior to Verigin's call to communism in 1893 (Tarasoff 1982:59).

What level of communalism did the Doukhobors of Kirilovka, then, actually participate in? It is suggested that in actual practice, different levels of communal behaviour existed within each community. Those closer to the household level were easier, and perhaps more important, to maintain when the larger economic communism of the village failed. For example, eating at the family table was infused with communal behaviour. Rhoades states that:

> [e]vidently the theory of communism obtained even in so small a matter as dinner appointments. Plates, one of them ordinary white heavy ironstone china, the others of quaintly decorated Russian ware, were placed on the inside of the ruffled napkins, but of knife or fork there was never a sign. The good wife brought up a dish of well cooked potatoes, fried in butter. Fortunately there was a spoon, so we could help ourselves by that means, but it was evident that fingers were to take precedence over forks.(n.d.:14).

This communal eating practice had its origins in Russia, as one of Tarasoff's informants stated that in Russia in about 1917 "In the Don area, Doukhobors ate from one pot with wooden spoons.." (Widow, N.C. Sask., August 20, 1975, interview 134 in Tarasoff 1977:120). Mary Sookerokoff reports this practice on the prairies, at the village of Petrofka:

> [a]s a child I remember sitting at the table and eating soup which was in a large home carved wooden bowl. I was (and everyone else) eating with a red carved spoon as well. There were no other kinds of spoons around. Just a few families had them, the richer ones, Fausts and Grandpa Makaroff to name a few (Sookerokoff n.d.:10).

With this statement, Sookerokoff not only describes the maintenance of a traditional communal behaviour, but also notes behavioural differences between community members of different economic means. This practice was carried to, and expanded at, the Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia, where Doukhobor women

would "cook for the whole village, and four people would eat from one bowl" (Homemaker, B.C. interior, July 23 1975, interview 110 in Tarasoff 1977:123).

The communal family eating practices of the Doukhobors contrasts sharply with the late Victorian dining behaviour described by Robert Jameson, who writes that dining practices of the Anglo-Victorians:

> involved combinations and separations of different forms of food and the complementary use of specialised dining tools and containers, to form distinct methods of consumption. These methods of consumption formed a hierarchy in the complexity of the implements used. This was related to the strength of the taboo regarding use of the hands, which itself corresponded to the particular type of food being consumed (Jameson 1987:64).

While the association of separation of individuals and food products with the material culture of dining was entrenched in Victorian dinner practice, the material culture itself held little specific, inherent meaning and could be separated from the Victorian ideal. Especially interesting in Rhoades' early description of Doukhobor meal practice is the incorporation of some ironstone tableware into the regular, traditional family meal as a replacement for other types of vessel. Similar incorporation of mass produced tableware is observable in two photographs of Doukhobor families entertaining Peter V. Verigin ca. 1906 (Tarasoff 1982:90). In both photographs, many sizes of white glazed dishes are present on the table including dinner plates, smaller plates, gravy boats, large serving bowls, and teacups and saucers. However, there are no individual place settings present in front of the people sitting at the tables, rather the dishes seem to serve as a number of serving vessels from which each person can help him or herself.

Departing from eating behaviour, one can see the structure of the Doukhobor home as reflective of a high degree of family communalism. In contrast to the late Victorian home in which, as Jameson remarks, "Holding the dinner-party in a special room within the house increased the party's significance in comparison to social interactions held outside the home, or within its multifuncional areas" (Jameson

1987:64). The house was a "secluded haven, and between its walls, order could be created and maintained" (Jameson 1987:64). The Doukhobor home, conversely, consisted primarily of one large multifuncional area in which most of the family slept, ate, produced crafts, and entertained guests, as well as hosted the occasional *sobranie*. Signification of space therefore came not through its physical structure and constraints, but by the nature and significance of the behaviour taking place within it at any given time.

Community cooperation and equality were also expressed in Doukhobor communities in ways that were intangible archaeologically, such as in the structure of the *sobranie*, or prayer meeting. According to historical records, the village of Kirilovka had no specific meeting place, as the sobranie was held in individual homes.

Archaeological evidence of communalism, or its breakdown, may be difficult to obtain. Two facets of the evidence recovered from Kirilovka, however, seem to support an idea that communalism existed and was maintained at the household level, while true economic communalism within the village was not practised.

First, ceramic tablewares indicate, not surprisingly, that the Doukhobors at Kirilovka were probably not 'buying into' the idea of structured dining behaviour and competition with neighbours through the purchase of showy matched sets of dinnerware or tea ware. The ceramics recovered from this site are highly diverse, with no clear evidence that any one decorative pattern existed on more than one vessel. It is unlikely, even, that the Doukhobors were cognizant of the Victorian ideal of the matched set when purchasing ceramics, rather the least expensive option, or that a replacement piece thought to be particularly charming, was bought. In addition to the individual serving size ceramic dishes, there are a number of large ceramic and enamelware vessels present in the Kirilovka collection that may represent both food preparation and serving dishes. These large bowls and pots support the idea that dishes such as soups were shared by family members. Further supporting the idea that dining behaviour took the communal pattern of earlier Russian settlements is the small amount of flatware recovered. Metal forks, knives, and spoons were likely not common in the

kitchens and dining tables of the Kirilovka Doukhobors; rather, the fingers, and carved wooden spoons recognized as part of Doukhobor craft tradition, were used.

That communalism at the village level was not particularly strong at Kirilovka is demonstrated not by any individual artifact class, but by the differences in variety and amount of goods found between the feature clusters at the site. As discussed in the previous chapter, a greater quantity and variety of purchased goods were recovered in the two eastern concentrations, likely corresponding to the activities of two households. That differences could exist in the purchasing patterns of households within the village indicates first that the village was not buying goods en masse and distributing them evenly to the residents and that households were doing some of their own buying. Following from this is the assumption that for households to be selecting and buying some of their own goods, these households probably had their own income or savings. Further, the differences evident between areas of the site, corresponding to differences between households, suggests that there was either an imbalance in the amount of money earned or saved between households, or that there were different priorities regarding the spending of money earned by the residents. An extreme example of different commercial habits at Kirilovka is provided by the privy feature 72, which is presently unassigned to a spatial clustering. As previously discussed, this single feature contains remarkably high concentrations of purchased household goods such as enamelware pots and linoleum, as well as many bottles from purchased beverages, liquor, and medicinal products that date to the period of occupation of the Doukhobor village.

While Rhoades simply observed what he describes as the quaint life of the Doukhobors, Cormie's 1911 writing attributes the abandonment of communalism by some families to the materialism of the prevailing consumer society. Of what he observed in the village, he writes:

> [t]hose three houses with the stained [unkempt] walls, are they a pathetic tribute to the brutal power of a material age, which has proved too strong for a Utopian dream? At least one whole village has abandoned the community life, unable to stand against the

> insistent lure of private wealth, and every village has its house with the stained wall (Cormie 1911:596)

Although the possession of a few ironstone dishes is a far cry from complete capitalist participation, Cormie seems to blame the failure of Doukhobor communities on the irresistible allure of the same kinds of goods that Rhoades observed being incorporated in small numbers into the Doukhobors' homes. As the following discussion will demonstrate, Cormie's extreme position oversimplifies the situation of the Doukhobors in the first two decades of the century, and denies them the cultural tenacity and flexibility that existed. While store bought, Anglo-Canadian style items entered the daily lives of Doukhobor families, the objects themselves were integrated meaningfully in ways which concepts of assimilation cannot begin to describe.

8.2 *The Development of Doukhobor Identity And Practice*

The identity of the Doukhobors who arrived in North America in 1899 and the changes that occurred within this identity and its effect on practice, cannot be discussed in simple terms of acculturation or assimilation from a monolithic 'old' to a new North American suite of behaviours. From the beginning Doukhobor identity and ethnicity were complex, consisting of combinations of ethnic traits and instrumentalist objectives.

Fry writes that the Doukhobors who first congregated at Milky Waters came from "a variety of economic and geographic backgrounds" (Fry 1976:323). Following from this, it is unlikely that all families that joined the sect in the early nineteenth century had similar modes of daily practice, or habitus. Ethnicity also likely varied. The basic background, however, of most Russian Doukhobors was one of the agricultural peasant. This can be seen in similarities between Doukhobor practice and the activities of non-Doukhobor Russian peasants. For example the steam bath, or *bania*, was not specifically a Doukhobor activity but one that was traditional to many rural Russians (Fry 1976:371). As well, Fry attributes the Doukhobors' ability to recognize a nearly divine leader, a concept which seems irreconcilable with the

egalitarian nature of the sect's beliefs, to an adaptation of a "general peasant belief in the divine Tsar in even more religious terms" (Fry 1976:350; see also Breyfogle 1995:27).

The complexity of Doukhobor identity is articulated well by Breyfogle, who states that in moving from the provinces to Milky Waters, to the Transcaucasus colonies:

> in personal and state terms, their identity as Doukhobors stemmed from their religiosity, social practices, internal governing structures and their Russian peasant origins. In the Transcaucasus, Doukhobor spiritual systems continued to undergo constant evolution. Nonetheless, certain tenets run through their Transcaucasian history as a binding thread (Breyfogle 1995:27).

These tenets include the idea of the spirit of god in each person and therefore the equality of all, rejection of structured religious institutions and physical buildings or icons, and the oral transmission of prayers and psalms (Breyfogle 1995:27-28). This rejection of established institutions combined with the oral transmission and internalization of Doukhoborism lend to a flexibility to the interpretation of the practice of the faith. Verigin himself states that:

> this is my conviction: no matter what may be the communal life of any group of people, first and foremost there must be full freedom of thought for every individual. In communal living people can be united only by their vital material interests, something that requires a sense of community in and of itself (P.V. Verigin to L.N. Tolstoy, 1 February 1899. Obdorsk; in Donskov 1995:42)

According to this statement, the economic and social communalism of the Doukhobors was subjugated to the necessity to recognize and acknowledge the 'divine spark' in each individual. Communal economic systems would be difficult to maintain in a system of priorities where the individual will is philosophically as important as, or more important than, the collective.

The Doukhobor religion was part of the conscious identity of Doukhobors both in Russia and in North America. The tenets of Doukhoborism were adopted consciously by those who joined the sect, and were taught as part of the practice of faith

to succeeding generations. The practice of faith, however, was not consistent throughout the sect and tensions existed throughout the Russian and Canadian history of these people. Of early fissures, Breyfogle writes:

> for both spiritual and socio-political reasons, Doukhobors split into two (and later three) factions - a fissure that literally tore families apart - and engaged in a court battle over control of their communal property. The so-called Large party, under the millenarian leadership of Peter Verigin, took up more radical religious beliefs and practices, including complete non acceptance of secular power, a commitment to nonviolence and social equality, contempt for property and riches, abstinence from sex for those married and from marriage for those unwed, vegetarianism, sobriety, and renunciation of tobacco" (Breyfogle 1995:25).

Members of the Large party later emigrated to Canada to escape persecution by Tsarist forces. The activities of the 'dissident' small party resemble the activities of the Independent Doukhobors who left Saskatchewan communities such as Kirilovka in the early twentieth century. According to Breyfogle, the practice of identity present in most Doukhobor settlements between 1845-1886, and in the Small party until 1895 had a character in which:

> accommodation led to social stratification between rich and poor as growing wealth went hand in hand with a tendency away from communalism, and to an uneasy drifting away from such religious tenets as nonviolence, sobriety, and indifference to literacy (Breyfogle 1995:26).

Fry believes that the status of Doukhoborism as a specific sect separate from the world was maintained by the physical isolation of an agrarian lifestyle and insulating behaviours such as a unique style of dress, German-influenced housing construction, and the rituals associated with religious practice. These insulators, which acted as boundary maintenance mechanisms, brought Doukhoborism into the category of an ethnic group. However, when such insulation and isolation were lost, Fry argues that Doukhoborism changed from a sect to a church. He states that "Doukhoborism required periodic waterings of exile and struggle to insure its vitality" (Fry 1976:409-10). The Canadian version of this 'exile' was the migration of Verigin and thousands

of his followers from Saskatchewan to British Columbia, where there was a rejuvenation of communal behaviour. The Saskatchewan settlements, therefore, were at a point where the Doukhobors ceased to be a clearly cohesive sect, and became a group of similar families observing the same church doctrines.

The material and behavioural disintegration of Doukhobor faith was not a directional process but a kind of fluctuating state. Throughout their history, however, the Doukhobors maintained an ideal more in mind and philosophy than in practice. In his 1988 work *Culture and Consumption*, Grant McCracken addresses what he refers to as "displaced meaning" in cultures. He states that the "gap between the 'real' and the 'ideal' in social life is one of the most pressing problems a culture must deal with" (McCracken 1988:105). One strategy he suggests that people use is to displace the ideal situation in time or place. This involves placing the ideal into a 'golden age' in the past, or a glorious future yet to arrive, or alternately placing the ideal in some distant location in space. He states that:

> displacement strategy is clearly more than an idle fiction, a game cultures play for their own amusement. It is indeed one of history's most powerful engines. Some significant part of the richness of the ethnographic and historical record follows precisely from the effort to realize distant ideals in the 'here and now' (McCracken 1988:106).

This observation is particularly applicable to the case of the Doukhobors in western Canada. Through their many migrations, the Doukhobors carried a sense of an ideal society attainable through the practice of their religion. In Canada, for example, this communal ideal involved an environmental setting in which fruit growing could be practised - a stark contrast with the reality of the plains of the Northwest Territories in which they first settled. It will not be argued here whether the displacement of meaning led to, or was a result of the multiple migrations of the Doukhobor settlers. It is suggested, however, that the situation most likely combines these two possibilities.

McCracken further argues that consumer goods play a role in building bridges between the reality and the displaced ideal. Goods are apparently most strongly

evocative when they are "not yet owned but merely coveted"(McCracken 1988:110). Some goods, in fact, are never owned, as McCracken argues that unattainability is an important factor in deciding which goods will bridge to the displaced meaning. Goods that are acquired are merely a small part, representing the whole of the ideal and yet allowing for the maintenance of the displacement. In essence, goods do not show who we are, but who we wish we were (McCracken 1988:117). Consumer goods were not likely used as bridges to the ideal while the displacement of meaning was taking place within the Doukhobor society. This is primarily because part of the ideal itself involved an anti-materialism that presumably led to the occurrence of the opposite of McCracken's scenario. Instead, bridges were constructed using the spoken word, common language, and philosophical teaching.

In combination the flexibility and individuality expressed in Doukhobor spiritual practice, disparate economic practices within and between communities, and the sense of a distant and displaced ideal created a material culture assemblage that, archaeologically, may seem at first very ambiguous. However, closer examination of the materials within their historical context reveals complexities in the daily lives of these agricultural settlers who are often only historically treated at the level of their political or religious associations. Historical and archaeological data, when taken together, show that the residents of Kirilovka were highly adaptable to new environmental and cultural situations. They were able to incorporate new technologies and styles while maintaining a continuous thread of identity as Doukhobors. This is due to a number of coinciding factors. First, while Doukhobor identity was tied to such tangible things as dress, rules within their philosophy discouraged the recognition of symbolism in most material objects. It is unlikely, then, that household objects would be tied into behaviours of display and competition, or serve as symbols of 'displaced meaning'. Stemming from this assumption is the second factor: language. The first, and for many only, language spoken by the Doukhobor immigrants to Canada was Russian. As different spoken languages interfered with communications between these immigrants and their neighbours, different languages of material acquisition structured

the consumer choices of immigrants and disrupted the transmission of meanings regularly associated with certain objects in the Anglo-Canadian market. The material remains from Kirilovka show the juxtaposition of traditional materials, and those adopted once in Canada. Finally, the internalization of religious and social rules at a personal level allowed for great variation in actual practice among those who continued to identify themselves as Doukhobors. What may at first appear to be tension in the archaeological record between traditional and Anglo-Canadian type materials, and their corresponding behaviours, actually represents the 'state of flux' characteristic of Doukhoborism from Milky Waters, to Transcauasia, to the different Canadian settlements.

Chapter 9
Conclusions

At the outset of developing this project I hoped to be able to define an archaeological representation of traditional Doukhobor behaviour and then contrast it with an acculturated, or 'North Americanized' pattern. Through measuring the amount of mass produced material goods, apparently purchased in Canada, I intended to demonstrate that as Doukhobors became more inclined to the category of "Independent" they purchased more mass produced goods. The reason for this would be that they were acting independently from the community. The case would also have been made that the reverse could be applicable, as those things purchased may have hastened the move away from the traditional.

Basic philosophical differences within the Doukhobor community, and between this and other communalistic Christian sects, was thought to provide a basis for the explanation of Doukhobor cultural divergence. A major philosophical difference between the Doukhobors and other communal religious sects, such as the Anabaptist Mennonites and Amish led, in part, to the different levels of community success experienced by these groups. Part of the philosophy of the Amish, whose communities exist into the present day, is the concept of "submission - yielding to higher authority: God, the church, elders, parents, community or tradition. In practice, Gulassenheit demands obedience, humility, submission, thrift, and simplicity" (Umble 1992:185). This contrasts somewhat with the idea of the divine spark in the individual held by those of Doukhobor faith. While in the former the individual must be subjugated to the good of the community under God, the latter lived as individuals within a communal structure. Within the Amish, strong leadership enforced rules of behaviour, through threat of shunning if disobedient. Although an in depth study of the structures of authority in Doukhobor communities has not been done here, the implications for variance from the Doukhobor norm or expectation does not seem to have been this

severe. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, in some respects the individual was more important in Doukhobor philosophy than the collective.

While this remains the case, the outcome of this structure as reflected in the material culture and further historical sources was not what was originally expected. For both practical and theoretical reasons the original goals outlined above could not be met by this study.

First, as is readily apparent, there is no basis for direct inter-Doukhobor comparison as only one site was investigated for the project. This is entirely due to the course of events which led to the mitigation excavation of Kirilovka as part of the Highway 16 development HRIA process.

Second, and more importantly, I have determined that even if two sites were available for comparison, the above assumptions would most likely be proven false. As discussed in the foregoing chapters, the cultural and geographical history of Doukhobors and their migrations show them to be a group of highly adaptive individuals bound together by common faith. Even the interpretation and practice of this faith varied among villages, families, and individuals. The archaeological record contributes to this impression of the adaptability of Doukhobor settlers by demonstrating their ability to adopt new facets of material culture produced in different cultural contexts, while defying standard concepts of assimilation and acculturation. In fact, Doukhobor material culture entirely lacks a traditional base line from which to determine levels of acculturation archaeologically. My very first impression of these settlers was that they were like hermit crabs in their flexible approach to settlement and material culture. This was first demonstrated to me by the different architectural styles favoured in the Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Alberta settlements. Attempts to define hypotheses and a research design according to contemporary archaeological theory, using concepts of ethnicity, acculturation, and consumer choice left little room for such an open ended impression as the 'hermit crab' concept. However, later in the project as the analysis of artifacts and historical context began to coalesce, the idea again surfaced. For, as the crab always remains a crab regardless of the shell it wears, the Doukhobors

seem to maintain their self-defined identity as such despite the 'punctuated equilibrium' of their migrations into different geographical and material environments.

Although the results of this research project differ somewhat from what was originally expected, the theoretical goals outlined in the Introduction were still met. First, the archaeological investigation of Kirilovka has helped to provide new information about the daily lives of the Saskatchewan Colony Doukhobors at the start of this century. Secondly, the goal of completing an exercise in historical archaeology through the integration of material and historical texts in order to reach new interpretations about the past, has been met.

The most important lesson learned through the process of completing this project was of the imperative of placing all material culture within proper historical context, using as many different texts as possible, before making final interpretations. It is hoped that future studies of Doukhobor village sites may refer back to this one when designing theoretical and methodological approaches, and as a basis for comparison in building interpretations. It is only through similar future studies that the suggestions expressed herein may be proved worthwhile or incorrect, and the foundation for the archaeological study of early agricultural immigrants be strengthened.

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Appendix A: Artifact Distribution by Cluster

A.1 *Southwest Cluster*

		Feature	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	56	67	Total
Household	Maintenance	Bucket Handle	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Bucket	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Food	Soda Bottle	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Food Prep	Canning Jar	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Crock	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
		Jug	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
		Pot	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	Furnishings	Flower Pot	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	14
		Mirror Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
		Vase	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	1	0	21
	Heat/Light	Lamp Chimney	3	0	1	1	0	12	0	0	0	0	17
		Oil Lamp Part	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	11
	Tableware	Bowl	0	0	0	9	0	12	0	0	0	0	21
		Cup	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
		unid Vessel	38	2	1	0	0	16	1	1	8	0	67
		Teapot	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
		Tumbler	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	unid Ceramic		0	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	4	1	11
	unid Holloware	Enamelware frags	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Household Total			44	21	5	29	2	91	1	1	13	1	208
Miscellaneous	Packaging	Barrel Hoop	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
		Bottle	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Bottle Base	5	0	4	9	0	56	0	0	1	0	75
		Bottle Finish	2	0	2	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	15
		Bottle Fragment	35	7	31	29	0	48	0	0	7	2	159
		Tin Can Seam	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
		Tin Can	25	86	11	14	0	3	0	0	3	1	143
		Cork	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	4

A.1 *Southwest Cluster* (continued)

		Glass ContainerFr.	1	1	0	8	0	23	0	0	1	0	34
		Glass Stopper	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Jar	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Jar Rim	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Screw Cap	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Miscel Act Total			69	101	50	72	0	137	0	0	13	3	445
Personal	Clothing	Boot Buckle	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Clothing Button	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	6
		Cloth Scrap	4	2	0	2	0	38	0	0	9	1	56
		Clothing Snap	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Fastener	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Eyelet	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
		Leather Mitten	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
		Leather Footwear	3	2	9	0	0	12	0	1	7	0	34
		Shoe Nail	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
		Shoelace Ends	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
		Suspender Adjuster	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Suspender Loop	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Suspender Toggle	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Indulgences	Gin Bottle	5	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
		Liquor Bottle	0	0	2	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
	Medicine	Medicine Bottle	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Pastimes	Doll	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Toiletry	Hair Comb	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
		Misc Cosmetic	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Personal Total			19	31	16	41	0	63	0	1	16	1	188
Structural		Bolt	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4
		Brick	2	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	2	0	14

A.1 *Southwest Cluster* (continued)

		Wind Glass	235	10	2	9	0	270	1	0	38	10	575
		Fence Staple	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
		Nail	122	11	12	3	0	270	1	0	50	4	473
		Rivet	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
		Screw Eye	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Staple	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Washer	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
		Wood Screw	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4
Structural Total			364	23	14	21	0	551	2	0	92	14	1081
Transport	Animal Care	A Shoe Nail	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
	Harness Parts	Harness Buckle	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Harness Clip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Harness Strap	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	6
Transport Total			5	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	12
Work	Hand Tools	Misc. Tool	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Other Tools	Chain	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Work Total			1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Grand Total			502	177	85	163	2	849	3	2	135	19	1937

A.2 *Southeast Cluster*

		Feature	13	14	15	16	42	71	Total
Household	Maintenance	Bucket Handle	3	0	2	0	1	0	6
		Washboard	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Bucket	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Food	Pop Bottle	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Food Prep	Canning Jar	1	0	0	2	1	0	4
		Crock	13	0	0	0	0	0	13
		Kitchen Knife	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Furnishings	Draw Pull	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Mirror Fragment	2	0	0	0	3	0	5
		Clothing Hook or Handle	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Heat/Light	Lamp Chimney	8	0	14	67	7	0	96
		Stove Foot	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Stove Part	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
		Stove Coal	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Stove Mica	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Stove Base	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Info/Bus	Watch Gear	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Tableware	Cup	1	0	0	4	0	0	5
		unid Vessel	29	3	20	0	4	0	56
		Table Fork	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Tumbler	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
		unid Ceramic	11	0	6	0	0	0	17
		unic Flatware	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	unid Holloware		19	0	12	0	1	0	32
	unid Ceramic		2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Household Total			107	5	59	73	20	0	264
Miscellaneous	Packaging	Barrel Hoop	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Bottle Cap	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
		Bottle Fragment	49	10	30	16	34	0	139

A.2 *Southeast Cluster* (continued)

		Tin Can Seam	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
		Tin Can	63	0	4	0	32	0	99
		Glass Container Fr.	21	5	18	44	11	0	99
		Bottle Base	8	1	5	19	7	0	40
		Bottle Finish	0	2	2	6	3	0	13
		Cork	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
		Bottle	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Miscellaneous Total			146	19	60	87	88	0	400
Personal	Clothing	Belt	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Clothing Button	2	0	1	0	5	0	8
		Cloth Scrap	11	2	10	7	68	0	98
		Clothing Snap	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Fastener	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Eyelet	22	0	1	0	0	0	23
		Heel Reinforcement	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
		Leather Clothing	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
		Leather Footwear	46	46	1	0	4	2	99
		Suspender Adjuster	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Buckle	4	0	1	0	2	0	7
		Boot Buckle	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Indulgences	Gin Bottle	0	7	7	0	0	0	14
		Liquor Bottle	0	1	0	7	0	0	8
		Wine Bottle	0	1	0	7	0	0	8
		Beer Bottle	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
	Infant Care	Safety Pin	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Medicine	Medicine Bottle	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	Pastimes	Doll	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
		Marbles	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	Personal	Beads	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Finger Ring	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

A.2 *Southeast Cluster* (continued)

		Key	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Toiletry	Hair Comb	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
Personal Total			94	65	23	24	89	2	297
Structural		Bolt	5	2	0	0	2	0	9
		Brick	72	0	3	0	10	0	85
		Chinking	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Dr/Wnd Parts	Wind Glass	38	38	28	222	40	0	366
		Hinge	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Fence Hardw	Fence Stapl	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Finish Wood	16	1	0	0	0	0	17
		Linoleum	32	0	0	0	0	0	32
		Nail	139	13	52	1	89	0	294
		Nut	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
		Plaster	266	0	0	0	2	0	268
		Washer	2	0	1	0	1	0	4
		Wood Screw	3	0	1	0	1	0	5
		Rivet	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
Structural Total			581	54	85	223	147	0	1090
Transport	Farm Machine	Farm Machine Part	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		misc Machine Part	5	1	0	0	0	0	6
	Animal Care	Horseshoe Nail	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
		Horseshoe	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
	Harness Parts	Harness Buckle	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
		Harness Strap	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
		Harness Trim	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Transport Total			17	3	0	0	1	0	21
Work	Hand Tools	Pitchfork	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Firearms	Cartridge	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
	General Tools	Chain	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Shop Tools	Whetstone	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

A.2 *Southeast Cluster* (continued)

Work Total		2	1	0	0	3	0	6
Grand Total		947	147	227	407	348	2	2078

A.3 *Northwest Cluster*

		Feature	22	24	26	28	Grand Total
Household	Maintenance	Bucket Handle	0	1	0	1	2
		Thimble	0	0	1	0	1
		Bucket	0	0	0	2	2
	Food	Flora	0	0	17	0	17
	Food Prep	Crock	0	0	1	0	1
		Jug	16	0	0	0	16
		Pan	1	0	0	0	1
		Pot	1	0	0	0	1
	Heat/Light	Lamp Chimney	13	0	7	1	21
		Lamp Reserve	0	0	0	1	1
		Oil Lamp Part	0	0	0	1	1
		Stove Coal	0	0	2	0	2
	Tableware	Cup	1	0	0	0	1
	unid Ceramic		0	0	7	0	7
	unid Holloware		0	0	1	2	3
Household Total			32	1	36	8	77
Miscellaneous	Packaging	Barrel Hoop	0	0	0	3	3
		Bottle	1	0	0	0	1
		Bottle Cap	0	0	1	0	1
		Bottle Base	2	0	3	0	5
		Bottle Finish	1	1	2	0	4
		Bottle Fragment	5	52	8	1	66

A.3 *Northwest Cluster* (continued)

		Tin Can Seam	0	5	1	1	7
		Tin Can	4	11	18	6	39
		Glass Container Frag	0	0	19	0	19
Miscellaneous Total			13	69	52	11	145
Personal	Clothing	Buckle	0	0	2	0	2
		Clothing Button	0	8	1	0	9
		Cloth Scrap	15	0	26	0	41
		Eyelet	0	0	1	0	1
		Leather Footwear	1	15	11	0	27
	Indulgences	Beer Bottle	1	0	0	0	1
		Liquor Bottle	0	13	0	0	13
	Medicine	Medicine Bottle	0	0	1	0	1
	Personal	Finger Ring	0	0	1	0	1
	Toiletry	Hair Comb	1	0	0	0	1
Personal Total			18	36	43	0	97
Structural		Bolt	0	0	0	1	1
		Brick	0	1	23	0	24
		Chinking	0	0	2	0	2
	Dr/Wnd Parts	Hinge	0	0	1	0	1
		Wind Glass	7	2	57	5	71
		Nail	1	58	61	5	125
		Screw Hook	0	0	1	0	1
		Washer	0	0	1	0	1
Structural Total			8	61	146	11	226
Transport	Harness Parts	Harness Buckle	0	0	0	2	2
		Harness Strap	0	0	0	8	8
		unid Harness Part	0	0	0	1	1
Transport Total			0	0	0	11	11
Work	Firearms	Cartridge	0	0	1	0	1
Work Total			0	0	1	0	1

A.3 *Northwest Cluster* (continued)

Grand Total			71	167	278	41	557

A.4 *Northeast Cluster*

		Feature	18	19	33	34	37	38	39	Grand Total
Household	Maintenance	Bucket	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Food	Flora	0	0	0	55	1	0	6	62
		Food Glass	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Food Prep	Canning Jar	0	2	0	13	11	0	0	26
		Crock	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
		Jug	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Pan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Pot	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Unid Hollow	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
		Cast Vessel	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Heat/Light	Lamp Chimney	0	0	0	0	12	0	3	15
		Stove Fragment	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	11
	Info/Bus	Battery Part	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
		Ink Bottle	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
		Lead Pencil	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Watch Gear	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Tableware	Bowl	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Cup	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
		unid Vessel	0	0	0	1	0	0	28	29
		Tumbler	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
		unid Flatware	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Household Total			2	31	0	71	27	1	43	175
Miscellaneous	Packaging	Barrel Hoop	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

A.4 *Northeast Cluster* (continued)

		Bottle Fragment	0	13	1	68	38	4	21	145
		Tin Can Seam	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	4
		Tin Can	0	4	0	22	0	0	2	28
		Glass Container frag	0	6	0	19	19	2	9	55
		Metal Screw Cap	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Slip Lid Can	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Bottle Finish	0	2	1	0	9	0	2	14
		Bottle Base	0	1	0	0	4	2	3	10
		Cork	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Bottle	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Miscellaneous Total			0	30	2	110	73	8	39	262
Personal	Clothing	Clothing Button	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
		Cloth Scrap	0	1	0	0	0	0	29	30
		Eyelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
		Leather Footwear	0	85	0	0	0	0	113	198
		Boot Buckle	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Indulgences	Gin Bottle	0	0	5	2	82	2	0	91
		Liquor Bottle	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
		Wine Bottle	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Beer Bottle	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
	Medicine	Medicine Bottle	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	4
		Bitters Bottle	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Pastimes	Doll	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Toy Pistol	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Toiletry	Ointment Jar	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Perfume Bottle	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Personal Total			2	90	9	5	90	4	144	344
Structural		Bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Brick	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	7
		Chinking	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

A.4 *Northeast Cluster* (continued)

	Dr/Wnd Parts	Lock	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Wind Glass	3	7	0	39	5	0	36	90
		Nail	12	4	0	9	3	0	33	61
		Nut	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Plaster	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Wood Screw	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Structural Total			21	13	0	49	8	0	75	166
Transport	Animal Care	Horseshoe Nail	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Horseshoe	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Harness Parts	Harness Ring	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Harness Strap	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Farm Machine	misc Machine Part	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
		Tractor Seat	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Transport Total			0	11	0	1	0	0	0	12
Work	Hand Tools	Pitchfork	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Shop Tools	Hacksaw Blade	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Work Total			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
Grand Total			25	180	11	236	198	13	301	964

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration

Species	Element 1	Element 2	Side	Completion	NE	NW	SE	SW	UA	Total
Bos	Forelimb	Carpals	Right	Complete	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Humerus	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Radius	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	2	3
				Fragment	0	0	0	3	3	6
		Ulna	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	1	2
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	2	3
	Hind Limb	Femur	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Lat Malleolu	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Metatarsal	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	6	0	6
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Tarsal	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Tibia	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
	Indt Lg Bone	(blank)	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Indt. Tooth	Indt Side	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
		LwTooth Row	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Mandible	Left	Fragment	1	0	0	1	0	2
		Up Tooth Row	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	Ilium	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Ischium	Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Pelvis	Element	Ident Faun	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Second	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Third	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	5	0	15	1	21
	Scapula	Caudal borde	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Glenoid Foss	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Sesmoid	Inferior	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Superior	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Vertebrae	Caudal	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Cervical	Axial	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

				Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Lumbar	Axial	Fragment	0	2	0	6	1	9
		Thoracic	Axial	Fragment	0	1	1	9	0	11
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bos Total					2	12	1	85	15	115
Deer Mouse	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Up Tooth Row	Left	Complete	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	Pelvis	Right	Nearly Cmpt	1	0	0	0	0	1
Deer Mouse Total					4	0	0	0	0	4
Domest Cat	Forelimb	Carpals	Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Humerus	Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Metacarpal	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	3	3
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Radius	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	2	2
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Ulna	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	3	3
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	2	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Fibula	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Metatarsal	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	3	3
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	4	4
		Patella	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Tarsal	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	6	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Tibia	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	2	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Mam Cranium	Mandible	Element	Ident Faun	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Mam Stern	Sternebrae	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	0	6	6
	Metapodial	(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	7	7
	Pelvic Girdl	Ilium	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Isch-acetab	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	3	3
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	8	8
		Second	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	7	7
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	13	13

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

		Third	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	6	6
	Rib	(blank)	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	4	4
			Indt Side	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	10	10
	Sesmoid	(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	0	6	6
	Vertebrae	Caudal	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	0	7	7
		Lumbar	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	4	4
		Sacrum	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Thoracic	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	0	7	7
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	7	7
Domest Cat Total					0	0	0	0	145	145
Domest Chick	Bird Cranium	Frontal	Left	Complete	0	1	0	1	0	2
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	1	0	2
		Mandible	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	2	0	3
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	2	0	0	2
				Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Maxilla	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	1	2
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Nasal	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Other Skull	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
				Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Indt Side	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Premaxilla	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Quadrate	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
				Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Skull	Axial	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	1	0	2
		Zygomatic	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Bird Stern	Coracoid Fac	Axial	Fragment	0	0	1	2	0	3
		Keel	Axial	Fragment	0	0	3	13	2	18
		Stern Rb Fac	Axial	Fragment	0	1	0	1	0	2
			Left	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Right	Fragment	1	1	0	1	0	3
		(blank)	Axial	Fragment	1	0	0	2	0	3
				Nearly Cmpt	1	1	0	3	2	7
			Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	0	2	2
			Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	2	2	4
	Forelimb	Carpals	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Carpometacar	Left	Complete	1	0	1	4	2	8
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	2	2	5
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Coracoid	Left	Complete	0	1	1	4	1	7
				Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
			Right	Complete	0	1	1	5	1	8
				Fragment	0	0	0	4	0	4
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Humerus	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	1	2	7	2	12
				Fragment	1	0	0	6	0	7
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	1	6	2	10
				Fragment	0	0	0	4	0	4
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Metacarpal	Left	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Radius	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Left	Complete	0	1	1	2	2	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	7	0	7
			Right	Complete	0	1	2	4	2	9
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Ulna	Left	Complete	0	1	1	4	2	8
				Fragment	0	0	0	6	0	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
			Right	Complete	0	1	1	2	1	5
				Fragment	0	0	0	5	0	5
	Furculum	(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	1	2
				Fragment	0	0	1	2	1	4
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	1	1	2	1	5
				Fragment	0	1	0	3	0	4
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	2	2	5
				Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Fibula	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	1	1	1	1	4
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	3	1	5
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Tarsal	Left	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Tarsometatar	Left	Complete	0	1	2	5	0	8

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

				Fragment	0	0	0	5	0	5
				Nearly Cmpt	1	0	0	4	1	6
			Right	Complete	0	0	2	6	0	8
				Fragment	0	0	0	5	0	5
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	4	2	6
		Tibiotarsus	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	6	2	9
				Fragment	0	0	0	8	0	8
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	2	4	3	9
				Fragment	0	0	0	6	0	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Hyoid	Indt hyoid	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Stylohyoid	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Indt Lg Bone	(blank)	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Left	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Other El	(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	0	10	0	0	10
	Pelvic Girdl	Acetabulum	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Ilium	Indt Side	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	3	1	0	4
			Right	Fragment	0	0	1	2	0	3
		Ilium-acetab	Left	Fragment	1	0	0	5	0	6
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Isch-acetab	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	3	1	4
			Right	Fragment	1	0	1	1	1	4
		Ischium	Indt Side	Fragment	11	0	0	0	0	11
			Left	Fragment	0	0	0	4	0	4
			Right	Fragment	0	0	1	5	0	6
		Pelvis	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Pubis	Left	Fragment	0	0	1	1	0	2
			Right	Fragment	0	0	1	1	0	2
		(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	0	1	0	1	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	1	2
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	4	0	5
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	1	0	2
				Nearly Cmpt	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Indt Phalang	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	6	6	0	12
		Second	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	5	5	6	4	20
		Head	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	9	2	0	11
		Head/Neck	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	1	3	4

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

				Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Sternal End	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
		(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	2	27	5	8	15	57
	Scapula	Blade	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Cmplt Scap	Left	Complete	0	0	1	1	1	3
			Right	Complete	1	1	1	0	3	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Glen Fos/Nec	Left	Complete	0	0	0	2	0	2
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		(blank)	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	1	0	2
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
	Vertebrae	Atlas	Axial	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Cervical	Axial	Complete	0	11	14	14	9	48
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Lumbar	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Other Vert	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	3	0	1	3	1	8
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Pygosyle	Axial	Complete	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Thoracic	Axial	Complete	0	4	2	5	5	16
				Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
Domest Chick Total					30	83	116	307	88	624
Domestic Dog	Forelimb	Humerus	Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Metacarpal	Left	Complete	0	4	0	0	0	4
			Right	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Radius	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Ulna	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Hind Limb	Fibula	Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Tibia	Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Hyoid	Epihyoid	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Other hyoid	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Indt Side	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Thyrohyoid	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Mandible	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mam Stern	Manubrium	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Sternebrae	Axial	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Pelvic Girdl	(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Head/Neck	Indt Side	Fragment	0	2	0	0	0	2
		(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	0	8	0	0	0	8
	Scapula	(blank)	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Vertebrae	Atlas	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Axis	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Cervical	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Lumbar	Axial	Complete	0	3	0	0	0	3
		Sacrum	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Thoracic	Axial	Complete	0	4	0	0	0	4
Domestic Dog Total					0	51	0	0	0	51
Equidae	Forelimb	Metacarpal	Element	Ident Faun	0	3	0	0	0	3
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
			Prox/Lat	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Fibula	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Metatarsal	Element	Ident Faun	0	6	0	0	0	6
		Patella	Element	Ident Faun	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Tarsal	Element	Ident Faun	0	7	0	0	0	7
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Tibia	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	Pelvis	Element	Ident Faun	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Phalanx	First	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Second	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Third	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Sesmoid	Superior	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Vertebrae	Caudal	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	3	0	0	0	3
		Lumbar	Element	Ident Faun	0	4	0	0	0	4
		Sacrum	Element	Ident Faun	0	1	0	0	0	1
Equidae Total					0	41	0	1	0	42
Goose	Forelimb	Carpometacar	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Coracoid	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Humerus	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Pollex	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Radius	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Hind Limb	Tibiotarsus	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Phalanx	First	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Vertebrae	Other Vert	Axial	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
Goose Total					0	0	0	9	0	9
Indt Bird	Furculum	(blank)	Axial	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Hind Limb	Tibiotarsus	Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Indt Lg Bone	(blank)	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

Indt Bird Total					0	1	0	2	0	3
Indt Fish	Fish Parts	Cleithrum	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Dentary	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Hyomandib	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Indt Fish Pa	Indt Side	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
				Fragment	0	3	0	0	0	3
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Operculum	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Scales	Element	Ident Faun	0	0	6	142	0	148
			Indt Side	Complete	0	60	0	139	0	199
		Subopercle	Indt Side	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Vertebrae	Axial	Complete	0	7	0	15	0	22
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
			Element	Ident Faun	0	0	1	0	0	1
		(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
			Indt Side	Complete	0	2	2	4	4	12
				Fragment	0	4	0	1	0	5
				Nearly Cmpt	0	2	0	0	1	3
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	5	0	0	5
	Indt El	(blank)	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Rib	(blank)	Indt Side	Nearly Cmpt	0	5	0	0	0	5
	Vertebrae	(blank)	Fused	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
Indt Fish Total					0	87	14	312	5	418
Indt Lago	Forelimb	Metacarpal	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	4	0	1	0	5
		Radius	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Ulna	Left	Complete	0	0	0	4	0	4
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Fibula	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Metatarsal	Left	Complete	0	0	2	4	0	6
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Complete	0	0	1	6	0	7
		Tarsal	Left	Complete	0	0	1	5	0	6
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	2	0	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Tibia	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Complete	0	0	1	1	0	2
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		(blank)	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Mandible	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Mam Stern	Sternebrae	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

	Pelvic Girdl	Isch-acetab	Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Ischium	Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Pelvis	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	2	0	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	3	0	3
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	0	0	0	8	0	8
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Scapula	(blank)	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Vertebrae	Caudal	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Cervical	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Lumbar	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	5	0	5
				Nearly Cmpt	1	0	0	6	0	7
		Sacrum	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Thoracic	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	4	0	4
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	3	0	3
Indt Lago Total					1	4	5	86	0	96
Meadow Vole	Mam Cranium	Mandible	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
Meadow Vole Total					0	0	0	1	0	1
N Pocket Gop	Forelimb	Humerus	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Mandible	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
N Pocket Gop Total					0	0	0	3	0	3
Northern Pik	Fish Parts	Ceratohyal	Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Cleithrum	Left	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Dentary	Left	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Vertebrae	Axial	Complete	0	0	0	0	3	3
Northern Pik Total					0	1	0	0	6	7
Other Game B	Bird Stern	Keel	Axial	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Forelimb	Coracoid	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Humerus	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Ulna	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Tarsometatar	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	1	2
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	2	0	2
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	1	2
		Tibiotarsus	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	Ischium	Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
Other Game B Total					0	0	0	17	2	19

Appendix B: Faunal Remains by Concentration (continued)

Other Ungula	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	1	0	2
		Indt. Tooth	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
		LwTooth Row	Left	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Up Tooth Row	Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	Ilium	Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	2	1	0	0	3
	Vertebrae	Thoracic	Axial	Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other Ungula Total					1	4	1	5	0	11
Owl	Bird Cranium	Mandible	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Other Skull	Left	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Quadrate	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Skull	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Bird Stern	(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Forelimb	Carpometacar	Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Coracoid	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Humerus	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Radius	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Ulna	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Furculum	(blank)	Right	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Fibula	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Tarsometatar	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Tibiotarsus	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Pelvic Girdl	(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Phalanx	First	Indt Side	Complete	0	4	0	0	0	4
		Second	Indt Side	Complete	0	3	0	0	0	3
		Third	Indt Side	Complete	0	3	0	0	0	3
	Rib	Body	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
		(blank)	Indt Side	Complete	0	13	0	0	0	13
	Scapula	Cmplt Scap	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Vertebrae	Cervical	Axial	Complete	0	4	0	0	0	4
		Lumbar	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Thoracic	Axial	Complete	0	3	0	0	0	3
Owl Total					0	61	0	0	0	61
Perching Bir	Forelimb	Humerus	Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1

	Rib	Head/Neck	Indt Side	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
Perching Bir Total					0	0	1	1	0	2
R Ground Sq	Forelimb	Humerus	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Radius	Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Hind Limb	Fibula	Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Tibia	Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Right	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Mandible	Left	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
R Ground Sq Total					0	5	3	3	0	11
Sheep	Forelimb	Metacarpal	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Hind Limb	Femur	Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Metatarsal	Indt Side	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Mam Cranium	Cranial	Axial	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Left	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Fragment	0	0	0	3	0	3
		Mandible	Left	Fragment	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Right	Fragment	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Vertebrae	Thoracic	Axial	Fragment	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sheep Total					0	2	1	13	1	17
Sturgeon	Fish Parts	Scutes	Indt Side	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
Sturgeon Total					0	2	0	0	0	2
Suidae	Mam Cranium	Mandible	Right	Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
Suidae Total					0	1	0	0	0	1
Walleye	Fish Parts	Angular	Right	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Operculum	Left	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
				Fragment	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Scales	Element	Ident Faun	0	0	30	0	0	30
		(blank)	Axial	Complete	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Indt Side	Complete	0	4	0	0	0	4
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Left	Nearly Cmpt	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Right	Complete	0	0	0	1	0	1
				Nearly Cmpt	0	0	0	1	0	1
Walleye Total					0	12	30	2	1	45
Grand Total					38	368	172	849	263	169

Appendix C: Ceramic Decorative Patterns from Kirilovka

Figure C.1: Transfer print and mould relief decorated ceramic tableware fragments.

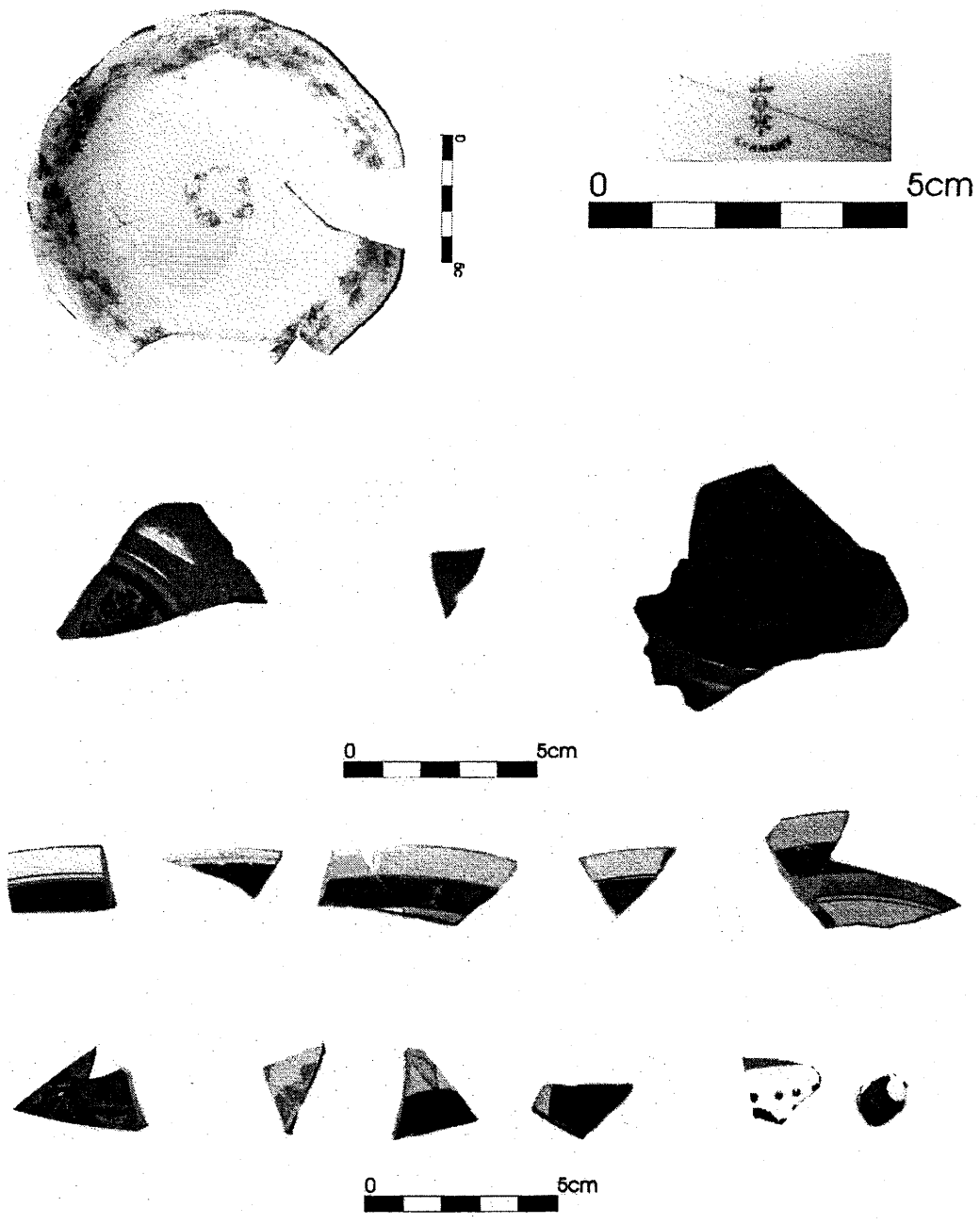

Figure C.2: Top: ceramic manufacturers' marks, Bottom: banded and painted white earthenware.

Appendix D: Commercial Packaging from Kirilovka

Mat	Product	Ind	Origin	Markings	Dates	Location	Reference
G	Beer	b	Adolphus Busch Glass Mfg. Co.	linked AB	1904 - 1907	U.S.A.: St. Louis	Toulouse 1971: 26
G	Beer	b	American Bottle. Co	A B Co	1905 - 1916	U.S.A. : Chicago	Toulouse 1971: 30
G	Whiskey	b	Cannington Shaw & Co Ld.	IMPERIAL / QUART and 1514 / C.S. & Co Ld	1875-1913	England, St. Helens,	Toulouse 1971: 147
G	Beer	b	William Franzen and Sons	W F & S	1900 - 1929	U.S.A. : Milwaukee	Toulouse 1971: 536
G	Beer	b	Wooster	WOOSTER / 10	1900 - 1904	U.S.A. : Wooster, Ohio	Toulouse 1971: 543
G	Medicine	p	Davis Vegetable Painkiller	front: "DAVIS" sides rt:"VEGETABLE" lt:"PAINKILLER"	ca. 1854 - recent		Fike 1987: 130-1
G	Soda Water	p	E.L. Drewry, Winnipeg	THE GOLDEN KEY / BRAND / AERATED WATERS	1900 - 1918?	Canada, Winnipeg	Chopping 1978: 368
G	Medicine	p	Dr. Peter Fahrney and Sons, Co.	PREPARED BY / ...FAHRNEY & SONS CO./ ...ILL. U.S.A	1900 - ?	U.S.A. : Chicago	Fike 1987: 58
G	Medicine	p	J.A. Stewart, Druggist	J.A. STEWART / ROSTHERN	1899 - 1911	Canada, Rosthern	Rosthern L History: 566
G	Gin	p	Melcher's Red Cross Gin	M...../ FINEST/CANADIAN/GENEVA/...	?	Canada, Montreal	H.B.Co: 218
G	Medicine	p	Dr. S.B. Hartman & Co.	DR SBH & CO PR	1879 - 1948	U.S.A: Pittsburgh.	Fike 1987: 38, 62
G	Whiskey	p	Strang & Co	...RANG & ..../ WINN..P..	1890 - 1917	Canada, Winnipeg	Chopping 1978: 370
G	Ointment	p	Vaseline, Chesebrough,	VASELINE / CHESEBROUGH / NEW YORK	1908 - ?	U.S.A: New York	Fike 1987: 56
G	Whiskey	p	Western Commercial Co. Ltd.	Scotch Whiskey /.D IN WOO./ .CO..M..Al Co./..IMITED../ .OON, SA...	1908 - 1914	Canada, Saskatoon	Chopping 1978: 358
B	Brick	p	Rosthern Brick Yard	ROSTHERN	1904 - 1916	Canada, Rosthern	Rosthern L. History, 41
P	Bowl	p	Hermann Ohme	Stylized initials and crown, GERMANY	1882 - ca. 1930	Germany, Silesia	Cushion 1980: 81
I	Cer. Vessel	p	Johnson Brothers (Hanley) Ltd.	JOHNSON BROTHERS ENGLAND with Victorian quartered arms	1883 - 1913	England, Tunstall	Brandon 1989: 315
C I	Hinged Door	p	International Harvester Co.	MC CORMICK / HAMILTON, ONT.	1903 - ?	Canada, Hamilton	McCormick 1931: 129
S	Crock / Jug	p	Red Wing Union Stoneware Co.	"...W RED WING M..."	1877-1967	U.S.A.: Minnesota	Ketchum 1991: 146
G	Medicine	p	Foster, Milburn & Co.	side panels: "DR. A. FOWLER'S" and "EXTRACT"	late19thC-present	U.S.A.: Buffalo, NY	Fike 1987: 119

Table D.1: Identifiable Product Markings with Dates and Locations of Manufacture.

Notes for table:

G = glass
B = brick
P = porcelain
I = ironstone
CI = cast iron
S = stoneware

b= bottle
p = product

Style	Plan	Color	Markings	Type of Marking	Origin
liquor	circular	green	grape vine border	paper label	
liquor	circular	olive	"....NCAISE", on base "3" below small mamelon	paper label / embossed base	
wine	circular	green	"D...PON & Co./.OGNA..."	paper label	D. Champon &Co
liquor	circular	olive	on neck "...TH..../...DWARD.....DA..."	paper label	
liquor	circular	aqua	HIGHLAND / ...OWER, neck crescent label with three stars	paper label	
liquor	circular	brown	"16 UNDER PROOF / STRENGTH IS A ... A ...M / COMPARING PRIC... L... THIN.../ THE STRE ...Y...HEM" and " CAN... WH... DISTILLED AND .../ HIRAM WA.../ WALKERVILLE, O.../...	paper label	Hiram Walker
bitters	rectangular	yellow green	"...OCK / ...OOD/ ...TTERS"	embossed	
unid	unid	brown	...ODERHAN.../ ...W...	paper label	
liquor	circular	brown	"FRANCAISE" in crest, "....EPH.../N...P.../AGE...T...E.../...CUAR.../UV...M.../...E...BE.../...A..."	paper label	
perfume	circular	aqua	FLORIDA-WATER/ BEST QUALITY	embossed	
beer	circular	brown	"CREANS / AL...CO...E...RE" on neck	paper label	
extract	square	colorless	"STAND../FLA..OR../EXRACTS"	paper label	
patent	rectangular	colorless	Liniment label (with alcohol and opium)	paper label	
prescription	polygonal	manganese	"MARWYN OVAL" on base, ounce symbol and measuring markers on front panel	embossed	
infant feeding bottle	oval	colorless	IMPROVED FEEDING BOTTLE (1377 on base)	embossed	

Table D.2: Unidentified Product Manufacturers' Labels from Container Glass

Material	Style	Plan	Color	Markings	Marking	Element
glass		oval	aqua	464B	embossed	base
glass			green	...NET white on black	paper label	panel
glass		circular	aqua	0 and small mamelon	embossed	base
glass		circular	aqua	bar	embossed	base
glass		oval	aqua	4244	embossed	base
glass		circular	colorless	two hearts and "335 / 10"	embossed	base
glass			colorless	96....	embossed	base
glass			colorless	...RE...	embossed	body
glass			aqua	...AW...	embossed	panel
glass			colorless	...ALL...	embossed	body
glass	patent	rectangular	aqua	linked "CB"	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	colorless	499	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	aqua	6 7 7 7 7	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	manganese	14...	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	colorless	"W.../ U.S.A..."	embossed	base
glass			colorless	4...	embossed	panel
glass	beverage	circular	green	"1425 / 4" on base	embossed	complete
glass		oval	brown	2 in Ownen's scar	embossed	base
glass		circular	aqua	incomplete rectangle	embossed	body
glass			colorless	BAN.../..ONTL...	embossed	body
glass		circular	aqua	4 inside Owens scar	embossed	base
glass		circular	brown	575 above base	embossed	base
glass	jar	circular	colorless	"1" inside circle on base	embossed	complete
glass		oval	brown	"8"	embossed	base
glass	patent	circular	aqua	DERWOO...	embossed	shoulder
glass		rectangular	aqua	...XTRA...	embossed	panel
glass		circular	green	BLAC...	embossed	body
glass	patent	rect/chamfered	brown	on base "1/2"	embossed	complete
glass	patent	rectangle	aqua	illegible	embossed	rec panel
glass		circular	aqua	...&Co / ...NTO	embossed	body
glass	patent	rect/convex	colorless	on base "1"	embossed	complete
glass	patent	rectangular	aqua	...TORIA	embossed	panel
glass		circular	aqua	...D / ...8	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	aqua	2	embossed	base
glass		oval	colorless	221	embossed	base
glass		oval	aqua	39	embossed	base
glass	patent	rectangular	aqua	1	embossed	base
glass		circular	aqua	(horseshoe shape) / (mamelon) / 5873	embossed	base
glass		circular	aqua	127/(mamelon)/S	embossed	base
glass		circular	aqua	"84B" just above base	embossed	base
glass		oval	manganese	"429"	embossed	base
glass	patent	rect/chamfered	colorless	on base: "499"	embossed	complete
glass	patent	rectangular	colorless	"on base: 4"	embossed	complete
glass	beverage	circular	olive	"06" or "90" underlined	embossed	complete
glass	patent	rectangular	colorless	on base: "421"	embossed	complete
glass		polygonal	colorless	on base: "4"	embossed	complete
glass	patent	circular	aqua	on base: two "8"s diagonally superimposed	embossed	complete
cast iron	stove body			CRESCENT surrounded by floral design	embossed	fragment
cast iron	stove body			COPP... / HAM...	embossed	fragment
Ironstone	vessel base			...US SM... inside banner/cartouche	transfer	fragment
Ironstone	vessel base			two headed eagle, "T..."	transfer	fragment
plastic	comb			THE FAVORITE	engraved	complete
plastic	comb			UNBREAKABLE	engraved	complete
Ironstone	vessel base			...UNSTALL / MOS...	transfer	fragment
white earth	vessel base			...E-SEMI-PORC... / ERIE	transfer	fragment

Table D. 3: Unidentified Manufacturers' Markings (Non-Consumable)

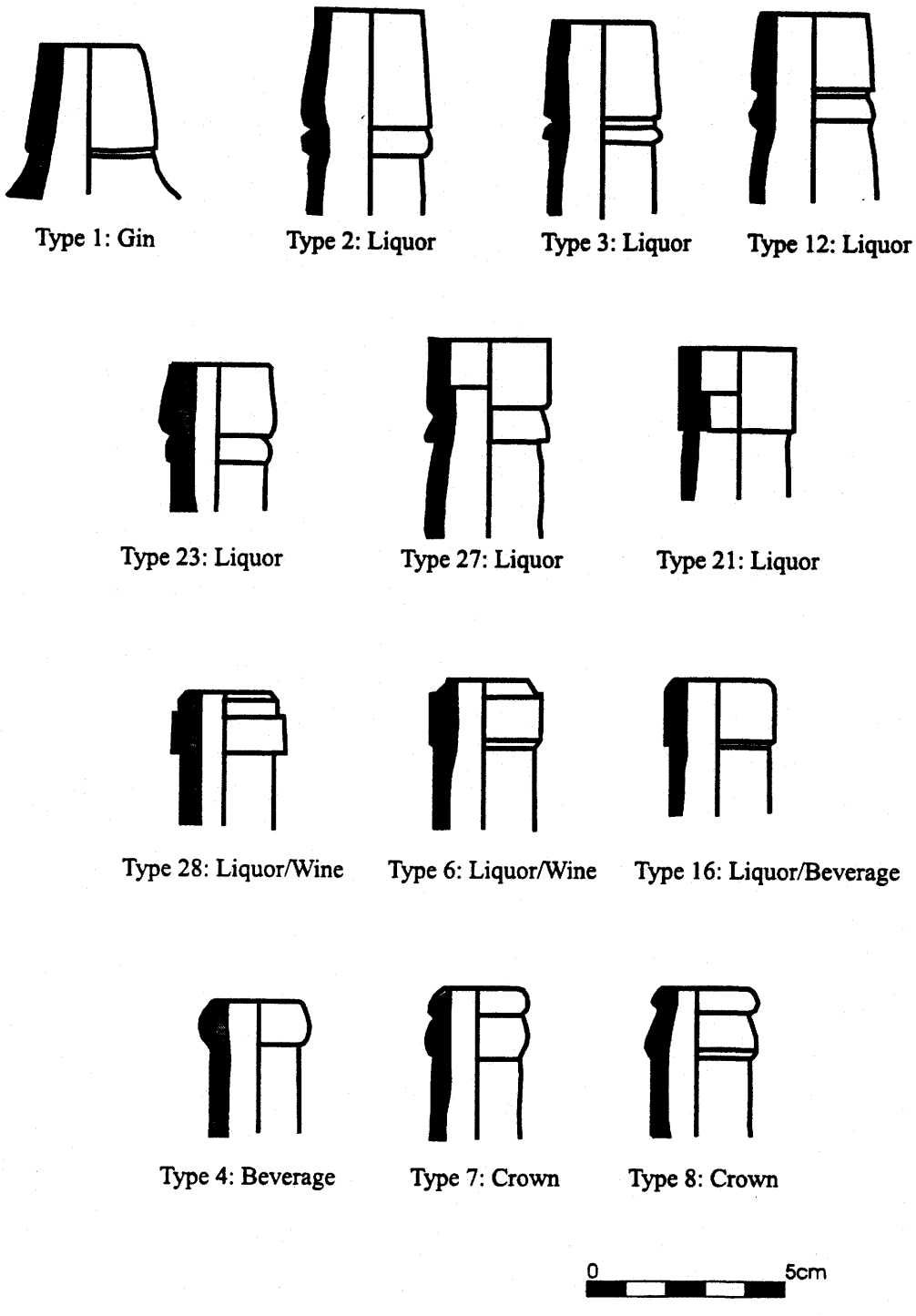

Figure D.1: Beverage bottle finish types from Kirilovka

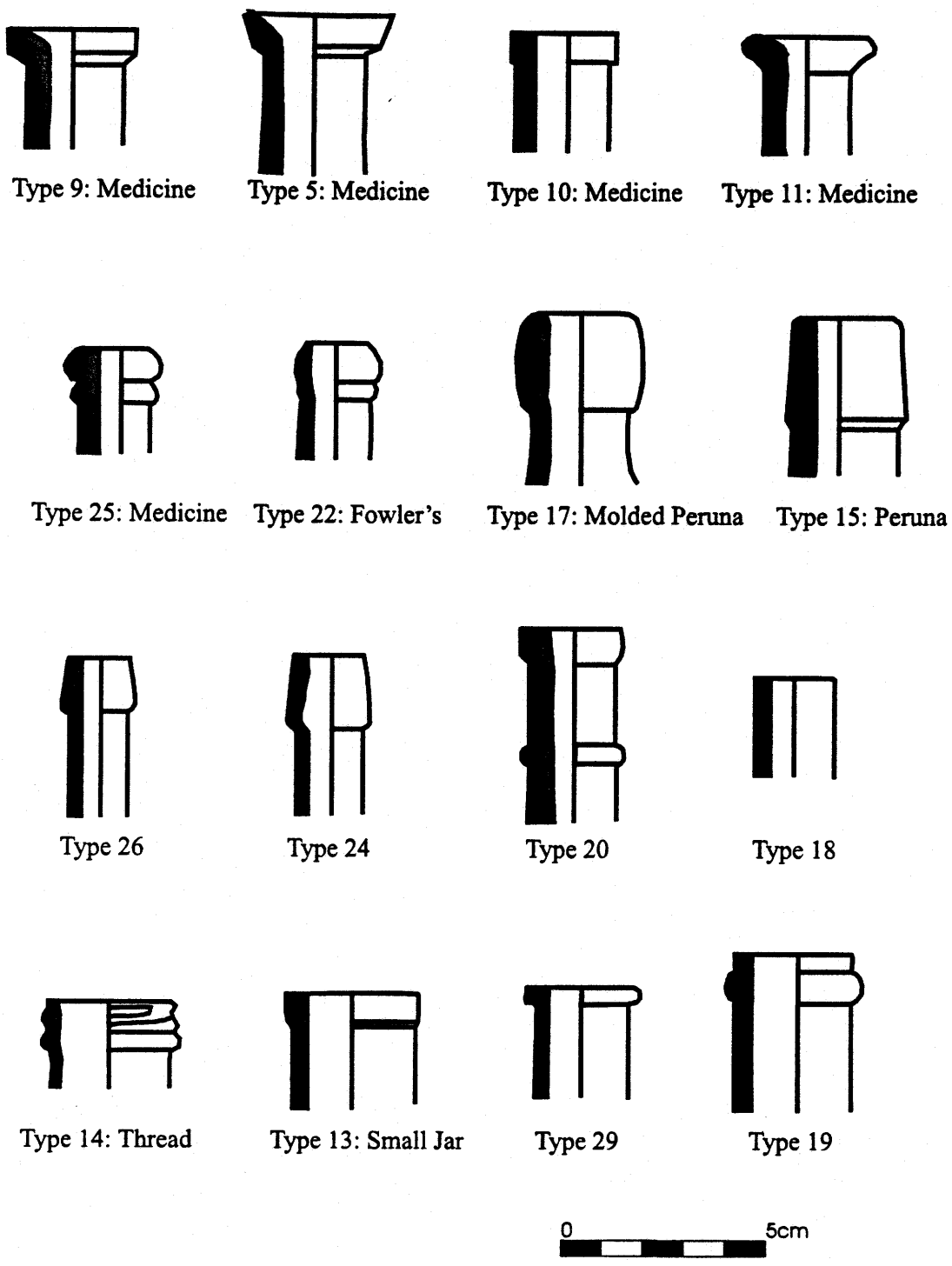

Figure D.2: Medicine type bottle finishes from Kirilovka.

Appendix E: Karilowa Village Population, 1899

Name	People	Generations	Adult M	Adult F	Child M	Child F
Thararsaw	7	3	4	2	1	0
Wishelow	7	3	1	2	1	3
Pasnekoff, A	4	2	2	1	1	0
Voikin, S	7	2	1	2	2	2
Markoff, F	6	2	1	1	3	1
Ozoroff, H	16	3	3	3	6	4
Voikin, W	2	1	1	1	0	0
Pereversoff, H	7	2	2	2	3	0
Voikin, J	8	3	3	3	1	1
Steuchnoff, A	7	2 or 3	3	2	2	0
Demofska, A	1	1	1	0	0	0
Zeewatkoff	5	2	1	2	2	0
Ozoroff, W	5	2	1	1	1	2
Posnikoff, S	8	2 or 3	2	2	4	0
Voikin, I	5	2	2	1	2	0
Posnikoff, K	7	2	3	1	2	1
Nimanichan, M	8	2	1	1	4	2
Zeewatkoff	8	2	3	1	2	2
Voiken, N	8	3	2	3	1	2
Ozoroff, P	4	2	1	1	1	1
Neimanichon, W	11	3	2	3	2	4
Pereferzoff, O	6	3	1	2	2	1
Steuchnoff, M	7	3	2	3	0	2
Markoff, G	7	3	2	2	3	0
Demofska, S (I*)	3	2	1	1	0	1
Total	**164**		**46**	**43**	**46**	**29**

Village of Karilowa: Household composition as of 1899 (National Archives of Canada, Kirilovka Village File)

Appendix F:Artifact Processing and Identification

F.*1 Laboratory Processing of Artifacts*

F.1.1 **Artifact Cleaning**

Artifacts recovered from the excavations at Kirilovka were selectively washed, depending on their material of composition and excavation context. Faunal materials, ceramic artifacts, and glass artifacts without paper labels were hand washed with water and small brushes to remove clay. Where the integrity of the paper labels on glass containers permitted, soft brushes were used to remove dirt and expose the label.

All large metal objects were dry brushed to remove clay and dust. Nails and other small metal objects were sifted to remove excess dirt, as it was found that, due to the advanced state of corrosion of many specimens, hand cleaning with brushes would damage the surface of the item.

Leather and textile materials were cleaned in one of two ways, depending on the integrity and 'dirtiness' of the artifact. Leather scraps with no mould, and very fragile textile samples were dry brushed to remove surface dirt and allowed to dry completely. Shoes, boots, and shoe parts were spray washed with a mild isopropyl alcohol solution and mechanically cleaned of roots and surface dirt, then treated with a fungicide. Maintenance of the semi-moist state in which some of the leather objects were found was attempted in order to preserve pliability of the artifact and avoid cracking. However, it was found that despite treatments, this semi-moist state fostered mould growth. Therefore, leather shoes and boots were manipulated as much as the artifact would permit to recover the original shape of the piece, then allowed to dry.

Textile scraps were treated in a similar fashion. Those durable enough were spray washed with water on a fine fibreglass screen, then allowed to dry completely. One sample required fungicidal treatment, as signs of mould growth were present. Once dried, some large textile scraps were placed inside transparent mylar envelopes, while smaller scraps were placed inside small plastic bags.

An earthen mass encasing several scraps of paper was recovered from one of the Kirilovka features. The scraps of paper were removed from the matrix mechanically,

using water to soften the matrix whenever possible. Methyl cellulose and rice paper were used to strengthen the paper scraps during this cleaning process. When clean, the scraps were mounted on rice paper using methyl cellulose as an adhesive. Analysis has found, however, that no legible writing is present on these paper scraps.

F.2 *Identification and Classification of Specific Material Classes*

F.2.1 **Traditional Craft Technologies Replaced by Mass Produced Goods**

Textiles and leather footwear are two categories of artifacts present in the Kirilovka collection which may have been either produced on site or acquired through donation or purchase. It is most likely that a combination of both home made and mass produced artifacts of this kind is present in the collection, although in order to determine the extent of the use of either craft technology or purchase, textile samples and shoe remains were analysed. The following descriptions of textile and footwear history and technology outline the terminology to be used in the later analysis sections of the report.

F.2.1.1 Textiles

Spinning and weaving were part of the daily lives of Doukhobor women early in this century, as is made clear in Dorothy K. Burnham's comprehensive treatment of Doukhobor textiles in Canada. Six informants in Tarasoff's oral history compilation note that women regularly used to make their own textiles and sew their own clothing, but that this practice diminished greatly over time (Tarasoff 1977:160, 163, 165, 173, 174, 183). One informant interviewed for this project said that women at Petrofka engaged in extensive craft production, including spinning, knitting (including numerous siwash jackets for relatives), and weaving (Rita Postnikoff, personal communication 1996). It was noted that the latter activity was done by other women that had looms, so it becomes evident that some degree of cooperation was necessary for all women to make or procure hand woven textiles.

Textile samples recovered from Kirilovka were inspected microscopically in order to determine the type of fibre present in the cloth, and where possible the weave

pattern. Most significant to the study of the Doukhobors is the identification of textile fibre type, as this can lead to an indication of the level of home-weaving activity responsible for producing textiles at the site, versus the amount of mass produced cloth or clothing purchased for use at the site from retailers.

Fibre Types Used by Doukhobor Weavers

Wool

Wool was used for a variety of textile types by the Doukhobors in western Canada. The sheared fibres were combed by the women using Tartar combs and paddle combs, made by the men of the family with wood and wire nails (Burnham 1986:10).

Wool, like all animal hairs, possesses a scaly outer layer called the cuticle which is visible when the fibres are viewed under a microscope. However, "In the case of greatly worn wool, reclaimed wool, or of archaeological wool textiles, the scales may have been rubbed off for the greater part, but the few which are left make the identification as a hair not too difficult" (Leene 1972:15).

Flax

Flax and hemp fibres were grown by many Doukhobor villages for cloth production. Burnham writes that "After arrival on the prairies, as land was cleared, small plots were set aside for raising flax, a plant that served a dual purpose, the seeds providing oil for cooking and the stems, fibres for linen" (1995:56). The processing of flax involved pulling it out by the roots, then drying and beating to remove seeds, retting (a soaking process), then drying again, braking to loosen the fibres, followed by combing and spinning (Burnham 1986:. In addition to braking, some flax stalks were pounded on a wooden mortar with a large wood hammer to separate fibres. The combs used for flax processing were made entirely from hardwood, as opposed to the metal toothed wool combs. Hemp and flax are similar in their morphological characteristics, although hemp produces coarser textiles used more for utilitarian purposes than the clothing linens made from flax.

When microscopically examined, flax fibres are bamboo like in appearance with swellings or nodes spaced along a cylindrical shaft. A lumen is often visible in the centre of the fibre(Leene 1972:14; CCI Notes 13/11:2). Degraded fibres, however, may break down into "smaller fibrous parts of the ultimates" in a process called fibrillation (Leene 1972:14). This degradation can make old flax fibres difficult to identify.

Cotton

While cotton was not produced by the Doukhobor villages, both cotton textiles and threads were used by members of the community. Burnham writes that :The Doukhobor communities managed to be surprisingly self sufficient, but from the very beginning cotton (sitets) yarns were available, if money for their purchase could be spared. Commercial yarn saved busy women time and effort. Fine white cotton was popular for the knitted lace edging on many household linens. It was also sometimes used for the warp, with either a linen or a woolen weft, in weaving yardage for clothing" (Burnham 1986:14).

The single celled cotton fibres are perhaps the simplest to identify microscopically. The fibres flatten and twist as they develop, producing a flat, ribbon like twisted fibre. The interior canal, or lumen, is regularly visible (Leene 1972:13 ; CCI Notes 13/11:1).

Silk

Silk was found to be present in the collection in small amounts, and certainly represents the purchase of prepared textiles or articles of clothing.

Prior to processing, "silk consists of two fibres of protein "fibroin" that are held together with a soluble silk gum called 'sericin'... Once the sericin is removed, silk separates into filaments" (CCI Notes 13/11:2). The silk fibres are identifiable based on their smooth, rod like shape and lack of a central lumen. Some fibres observed in the Kirilovka collection seemed to be adhering in twos, perhaps representing the original structure of the fibre.

Weaving Patterns

Doukhobor women wove textiles on hand built looms made entirely of wood (for a good illustration, see Tarasoff 1969:99).Perhaps the most common of the weave patterns produced by the Doukhobors were different types of twill. Burnham notes the use of plain twills, herringbone twills, and goose-eye twills regularly in men's suiting and other fabrics (1986:62). Twill weaves are defined as a "...weave which produces distinct lines (wales) running diagonally across the cloth. Twill weave fabrics can be made more compact and heavier than plain weave fabrics.." (Higgins and LaVault 1948:123). Herringbone twill is a variant in which the direction of the diagonal wale alternates in bands, while in birdseye twills the weave pattern forms small diamond shapes.

In addition to sturdy twills, tabby or plain weaves were also produced by Doukhobor women. Tabby weave describes the simple weave in which warp and weft pass over one then under another of the opposing threads.

When weave type of archaeological samples could be determined, it was only noted whether a cloth was tabby, twill, or other woven type. Most pieces were to small and degraded, and the researcher not well enough experienced, to define specific variations of twill.

Textile Dyes

Although little information is available on the dyeing of Doukhobor made textiles, Burnham offers some brief discussion on the bleaching of linen in the sun, with lye, or on rare occasions with chicken dung (1986:63). With respect to other textile colors, Burnham notes that "Except for a very limited use of such natural substances as onionskins, all dyeing in Canada was done with commercial package dyes" (1986:63). This statement is supported by one local informant, who also mentioned that her family most likely used bought dyes, as she had no memory of the use of natural substances (Rita Postnikoff). Further, Rhoades' observations of the settlers at Terpennie village included the observation that "For the dyening, aniline dyes are coming into general use"

(1900:18)

Clothing Styles

At the time of Rhoades' observations at Terpennie village, the local Doukhobor residents wore what seem to be traditional Russian garb. However, in the Canadian villages, sewing machines were acquired soon after village settlement (Burnham 1986:32, see photographs in Tarasoff 1969:98). In addition to this manufacturing change, styles of clothing were transformed on the prairie settlements. Burnham notes that men's clothing took on more fit and shape, like commercially available garments, and became less like the rectangular cut peasant styles used in Russia, that were designed to avoid wasting yardage (Ibid). Such men's suits were usually made of finely woven wool twill, or a mixed weave with cotton warp and wool weft(Ibid:34).

There has been some discussion of the symbolic significance of Doukhobor clothing, especially regarding the traditional female headdress. Burnham suggests that the rosette placed at the front of the hat originated as a representation of adherence to Verigin's standards, both before and after emigration to Canada (1986:66). Inikova also discusses the symbolism of this headdress, but believes that the different elements of the hat represented various parts of the Doukhobors' historic struggles, while the height of the cap represents the supremacy of God's law (1995:67). She writes that:

> [i]t is not accidental that the history of the Doukhobors is reflected in such a compressed form in women's headgear. Doukhobor teachings were supposed to be passed on from generation to generation in oral form only, as any written record, in the opinion of the founder of the group, distorted the inspired word of God.... The principle role in the preservation of oral traditions, in their transfer from generation to generation, in the religious upbringing of children, belonged to the mother and grandmother:that is, women were the custodians of the Doukhobor teachings and the Doukhobor covenant (1995:67).

These symbolic characters of Doukhobor apparel are invisible to the archaeological eye, yet are important to note here as they serve as a reminder that the material realm is infused with meaning, and that meaning is contingent on historical and cultural context.

F.2.1.2 Footwear Manufacture

It is difficult to find information directly relating to the footwear of Canadian Doukhobors. Photographs generally show only unfocused, nondescript black boots. Observer reports of Doukhobor footwear in the prairie villages are rare. Rhoades provides only a few short lines, although these themselves are useful. In writing of his visit shortly after the settlement of Terpennie village, he notes that all garments his hosts wore, including boots, were made by the Doukhobors. He devotes only a couple of lines to the description of these boots, noting that they were "strong roughly made and heavy boots" (1900:17), and that "All wore boots as heavy as those of a British farm laborer (sic)" (1900:17). Two informants in Tarasoff's 1977 oral history compilation mention that men in the communities would do some leather working (Tarasoff 1977:165, 181). This included not only shoemaking, but manufacture of harness straps (Tarasoff 1982:55) and leather straps for hanging infant cradles (Provincial Museum of Alberta photo PH73.2.129; Rhoades 1900:27). A photograph in Tarasoff's 1969 "Pictorial History" shows men in a communal "Bootery", in an unnamed location (Tarasoff 1969:98). Among the tools present therein is a sewing machine designed for stitching leather. Machine stitched uppers, and possibly soles, were presumably made by Doukhobors in at least one village. The equipment owned by Kirilovka villagers, however, is unknown. Shoes and shoe parts from the collection at Kirilovka were analysed in order to determine the method of manufacture, and if manufacture most likely occurred on site, or mechanically in distant locations.

Through the mid to late 19th century, many advances in commercial shoe manufacture such as machine stitching, machine pegging and nailing, Goodyear welting, and heel attachment were made. By the turn of the century, most processes in shoe construction could be done by machine (Anderson 1968:61). Four types of shoes:turned, welted, metal pegged, and screwed were most likely produced outside the village and purchased for use. Nailed shoes, and some pegged shoes, could have been produced either within or outside the village by machine or by hand. Cemented shoes were not widely produced until after 1926, when an appropriate type of glue was developed

(Anderson 1968:62), and are not present in the Kirilovka collection.

Turned shoes are single soled shoes constructed by sewing the upper and sole together while the shoe is inside out, and then turning the shoe right side out for finishing. The stitching may either fall into a channel cut into the bottom of the sole to protect it from contact with the ground, or the upper may be sewn to a thin strip of leather that is then attached to the sole. Turned shoes are characterized by a 'feathered' strip of leather around the inside edge of the sole (Holder-Blee et al. 1986:139). Turned shoes are generally thinner and lighter in construction that other types of footwear, so this method of manufacture was generally used for ladies' and children's shoes and boots.

Welted shoes possess both an insole and an outsole, and are generally sturdy and of high quality. Holder-Blee describes the process of making a welted shoe as follows:

> a channel is cut into the edge of the insole. Then the bottom strip created by this channel is turned at a right angle from the insole, forming a rib against which the welt and upper are stitched. Next, the outsole is similarly channelled, and stitched to the welt and upper, but not the insole... The channels are then cemented together, hiding and securing the stitching (141).

As both turned and welted shoes may have a rib protruding from part of the sole, it can be difficult to distinguish between the sole of a turned shoe or the insole of a welted shoe when only scraps are present.

Screwed shoes, only two examples of which are present in the collection, were made by fastening the insole, upper, and outsole together with a threaded wire that was screwed in and cut off by a machine at the insole. In both examples, a row of nails reinforces the shoe inside the row of screws. Dooley remarks that "Many good qualities of heavy shoes are made by the standard screw method" (1912:160)..

The most common types of shoe manufacture present within the Kirilovka sample, however, are the less expensive nailed and pegged shoes. Both of these types of shoes consist of an insole and an outsole, between which the turn of the upper is wedged. All three layers are then held together by one or more rows of fasteners.

Nailed shoes are by far the most common in the Kirilovka collection. Dooley notes that this method was used primarily for heavy, cheap shoes (1912:161). Pegged shoes are less common in the collection, using small wooden pegs, and on very limited occasions metal pegs, to fasten the layers together. Of pegged shoes, Holder-Blee remarks that the pegs were driven completely through the insole, and then rasped to be level with its surface. These shoes would become uncomfortable as the insole compressed with wear, and the pegs came in contact with the foot. It seems likely that the wearers of nailed shoes experienced similar problems.

F.3 *The Analysis of Organic Dietary Remains From Kirilovka*

F.3.1 **Flotation and Floral Analysis**

The identification of food plant species from seeds recovered from privy and midden features at Kirilovka provides information about the diet and food procurement practices of the site's residents. Flotation of fourteen soil samples from ten features was conducted according to the manual flotation method described by Deborah M. Pearsall (1989:35-46). A flotation bucket was constructed by removing the bottom from a standard galvanized metal bucket and replacing it with a piece of 1/16" wire window screen secured with a hose clamp and sealed with silicone gel. The bucket was partially submerged in a large steel drum of water, agitated in a rotating fashion, and the soil samples were added. The light fraction was skimmed away using a fine nylon mesh aquarium net, which was able to retrieve even the smallest floating particles. Samples were then air dried and sent to the University of Winnipeg for sorting and identification.

The analysis of floral remains in historical archaeology is a technique that still seems to be in its developmental stages. There is a general paucity of published reports relating to such activity, especially reports which are relevant or comparable to the remains from Kirilovka. In a 1991 article, Holt presents a model for the origin, acquisition, use, and disposition of floral remains, viewing consumer behaviour from the perspective of the household.

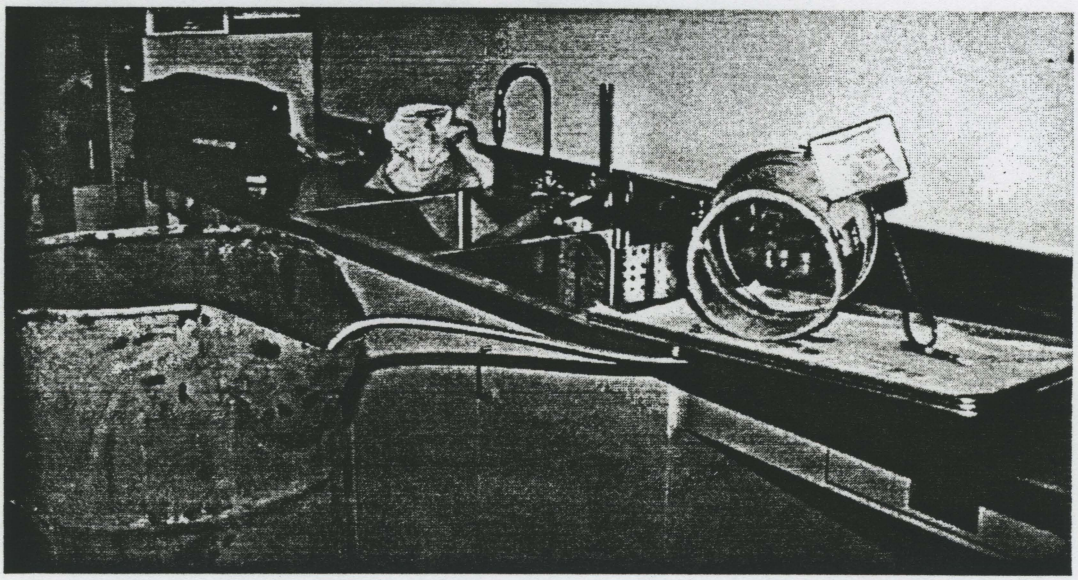

Figure F.1: Flotation apparatus used to process soil samples and extract organic remains.

The most basic information gained from such studies provides insight into foodways, as Holt states: "On the most rudimentary level of analysis the presence of botanical data provides insight as to the fruits, vegetables, grains, nuts, and herbs that were consumed and discarded at individual sites under study" (Holt 1991:47).According to Holt, one of the first and most important activities to be undertaken is the identification of those species deposited by cultural versus natural means (Holt 1991:50). Following this, the presence of different kinds of culturally deposited floral remains will depend on a number of factors within the context of the site's occupation. At the base of all choices will be the cultural identity of the inhabitants, as Holt states:

> [h]abits are the results of traditions, and all choices are therefore the result of conscious arrangement performed either in the present or at some past time. Most acts of choice are conglomerates, partly made up of new reflections, partly infused with habits (Holt 1991:50).

In combination, the geographical location of a site, both in terms of climate and soils appropriate for the growth of certain species, and in terms of proximity to market

sources of bought produce and preserved goods, affected choices available to consumers. These factors are summed up by holt in the statement that:

> [f]oodways are circumscribed gy the limits of the geography of crop production possibilities, the state of technology available, and the economics of both the region and individual household. Specific food patterns are influenced by religious beliefs, taboos, ethnic affiliation, as well as the composition, particular needs and preferences of households, and individual tastes (Holt 1991:47).

Other, more technological factors also affect the composition of the floral assemblage. The use of preservation methods such as canning and drying allowed more foods to be stored for longer periods, and even consumed out of season (1991:50). Changes in cooking methods with the adoption of the cast iron cookstove may also affect the method of preparation of some plant foods, and the distribution or preservation of their seeds (1991:52)

The following two articles show different uses of floral remains in the interpretation of historic sites. Elizabeth A. Honeysett and Peter D. Schultz examine floral remains from a store site in Sacramento, California that burned in 1852. Samples were collected from systematic 6x6 inch soil samples, which were separated by graduated sieves and manual flotation(1990:96-7). The sample of 13000+ seeds was identified, and grains, coffee, spices and fruit seeds were analysed with respect to their spatial distribution in the store and abundance. The focus of the examination is on foodways, agriculture, and commercial practice in gold-rush period California.(ie:placement of products within the store, preferred agricultural products).

C.T. Shay uses historical and archaeoobotanical data from Upper Fort Garry to explore "1)imported fruits and nuts, 2)local fruit breeding, and 3)wood uses at the fort" (Shay 1984:123). Mention in historical records is combined with recovered seeds from the archaeological samples, in the observation of an increase in imported and introduced nuts and fruits over time. The change is attributed to increased foreign trade over the time period studied (Shay 1984:127)

While both employ the systematic recovery of seeds from bulk soil samples

through flotation, it is apparent that the interpretation of such remains is highly dependant on the consideration of the cultural and historical context of each site. Similarly, the remains from Kirilovka may best be understood by combining the archaeological remains with historical information.

F.3.2 **Faunal Analysis of Historic Site Materials**

There has been some debate in the published literature about the appropriate unit of analysis for faunal remains in historical archaeology. Huelsbeck suggests that in the archaeology of urban sites, the analytical unit for faunal studies is the Unit of Acquisition, rather than the Minimum Number of Individuals, as in urban sites, individual cuts of meat, rather than entire animals, were generally acquired (1991). Cuts of meat often are assigned a ranking based on price, which is used as an indicator of the socioeconomic status of the purchaser. As discussed previously, cost-based socioeconomic ranking is fraught with difficulties, for as with other classes of material culture, other factors such as ethnicity and site location may be at work in affecting the choices made by meat consumers. As Huelsbeck warns:

> [f]oodways may also affect the analytical perception of the socioeconomic status represented by a faunal assemblage by imposing a preference ranking that differs from the status ranking described above. If food is prepared and served communally in soups and stews rather than in individual portions such as steaks, the appropriate cuts of beef are less expensive and lower ranking (Huelsbeck 1991:65).

An example of the influence of different factors in the acquisition of types of meat is provided by Elizabeth J. Reitz' in a 1986 article. Reitz focuses on differences in use of wild and domesticated species and diversity using 16 sites in coastal South Carolina and Georgia from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century. Although she advocates the use of butchering units as units of analysis, this is prevented by inadequacies the sample, so MNI are used. Samples of less than 200 individuals are not considered by the author to be statistically satisfactory (1986:50), so statistical measures

of diversity are not employed. The results of comparisons indicated that urban residents used both a greater number and greater variety of domesticated animals for food (1986:51), urban sites included fewer wild mammals, both individuals and species (1986:54), and urban diets showed less extensive use of fish than rural diets (1986:55). Differences are attributed to the greater availability of wild animals in rural settings, the higher frequency of butchering and availability of domestic meats in urban settings (1986:56). Reitz does not deny the influence of socioeconomic status, but places it as subordinate to rural/urban differences in explaining assemblage composition (1986:56). Similarly, Price examines meat processing distribution at an Ozark farmstead using oral reports, documentary sources, and archaeological materials. In this case, MNI is also used (Price 1985:52). MNI may be more appropriate in rural situations such as this, in which families often butchered their own animals for meat, and therefore most or all elements would be discarded on site.

For the analysis of faunal remains from Kirilovka, it was determined that MNI is the most appropriate unit of analysis for two reasons, depending on species. First, many of the animals represented in the assemblage are small in size, and it is unlikely that a chicken or rabbit would be divided into individual portions for distribution and preparation. It is more likely that game birds, fish, and small mammals would be prepared and consumed whole, on one occasion, by the members of one household. When considering larger animals, as the Doukhobors reportedly owned stock in both sheep and cattle at the village of Kirilovka, it is unlikely that meat would be acquired from an outside source. Analysis of large mammal remains will attempt to determine whether households were butchering larger animals for their own exclusive use, or if there appears to be any sort of patterned sharing among the households. Finally, the socioeconomic ranking of meat cuts is made inappropriate at this site by two factors. First, the faunal sample is too small to strongly suggest patterning of meat acquisition based on type of cuts consumed per household. Secondly, as butchering patterns and cuts of meat used for distinguishing socioeconomic status are generally based on the activities of specific groups of Anglo-ethnic settlers, they may not be applicable in the

case of the Russian-ethnic and religiously influenced Doukhobors.

The relative importance of different species consumed at Kirilovka will be defined based on the weight of meat provided by each species of animal. For example, while the presence of over a dozen chickens may seem great compared to three cows when number of individuals is considered, the 30 lbs of meat provided by 12 chickens pales in comparison to the 900 lbs of meat that can be taken from three cows. The pounds of meat per individual animal considered in this analysis are as follows (Price 1985:53); hog:135lbs; cow:300lbs; sheep/goat:40lbs; rabbit:1.75lbs; chicken:2.5lbs; turkey:8.5lbs.